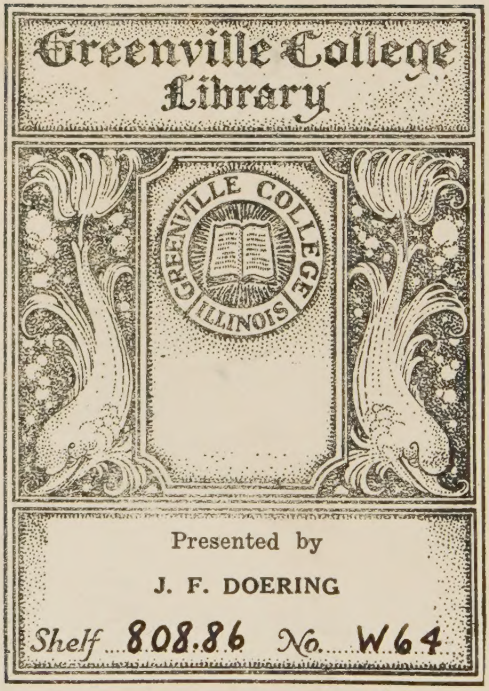

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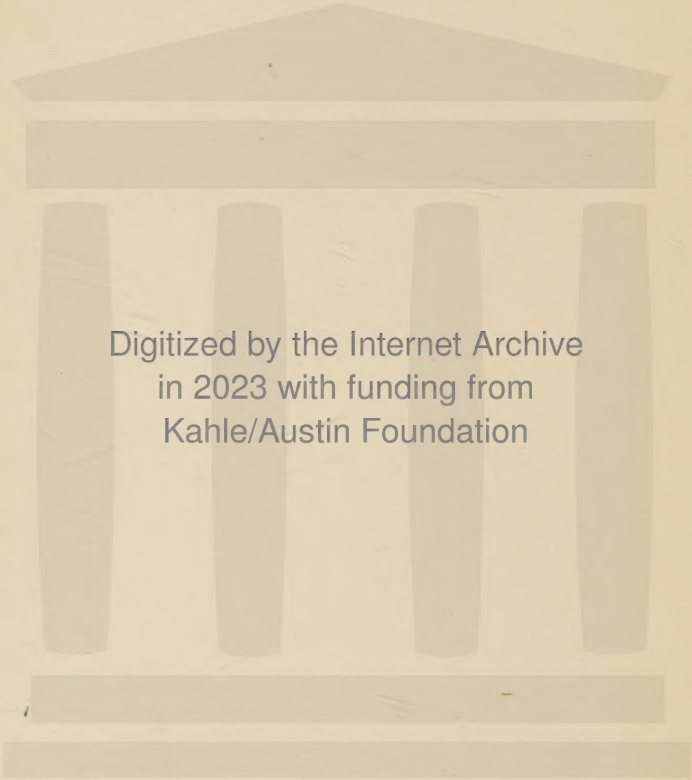
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UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM THE COLLECTION OF JOHN WILD

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM THE COLLECTION OF JOHN WILD

SELECTED AND EDITED
BY
R. N. CAREW HUNT

FIRST SERIES

TORONTO: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF
CANADA LIMITED, AT ST. MARTIN'S HOUSE
1930

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R.N.C.H.

ERRATA.

Page 72, line 8: *for* 1799 *read* 1779.

Page 101, line 8: *delete* the [*sic*] after 'arrive'.

Page 104, line 15: *for* 1685 *read* 1665.

17515

PREFACE

SHORTLY after the Napoleonic Wars my great-grandfather, Mr. John Wild, of Clapham Lodge, Surrey—now the property of the Convent of Notre-Dame—began to collect autographs. He limited himself at first to the French Revolution, and by the year 1825 he had secured letters of almost everyone of consequence during that period. These he mounted in two large albums together with prints of the writers and such other material as seemed to him of interest. The passion for collecting having by this time taken hold upon him, he now began to look further afield. His collection steadily increased, and at his death, in 1855, it had risen to thirty-nine large volumes, each "Grangerized" upon the same system. The range of his acquisitions was remarkable. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were well represented. But from 1700 onwards there were few persons of importance in England, France and Germany of whom he had not secured at least one letter. After his death his family removed from London, and bought a property in Devonshire. Thenceforward the collection was kept under lock and key, until, last year, it passed into my possession through the generosity of my cousins, to whom it had descended in the third generation.

An examination of the volumes revealed a large quantity of unpublished material, some of it of great interest. The existence of the collection had long been forgotten. John Wild had, indeed, occasionally communicated letters to biographers, but with his death this practice had been abandoned. It seemed, therefore, that my best course would be to publish some of the letters in the form in which they are here presented. They are a first instalment, and I hope next year to edit a further selection. I have not thought it necessary to attempt a complete annotation, but have prefixed to each letter a note explaining, where possible, the circumstances under which it was written, and have given, in certain cases, a few biographical details. I have limited myself to those letters which, to the best of my belief, have never been published. But anyone who has undertaken the editing of so miscellaneous a collection will be aware of the difficulties. If I have inadvertently included any letter which has already appeared in print I am sorry for it, and shall be grateful if I may be informed. The work of selection, even within these limits, has not been an easy one. I have included only such letters as seem to me to be of interest, and have excluded many of those trivial communications which the piety of editors so often rescues unnecessarily from the wastepaper basket. Any departure from this principle is to be explained by the importance of the writer or the scarcity of his letters. The spelling and punctuation of the originals have, in all cases, been followed.

I desire, in conclusion, to express my gratitude

to those who have given me assistance in the preparation of this volume, and in particular to Professor Nichol Smith, Mr. M. Wilkinson, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, Mr. H. T. Wade-Gery, Fellow of Wadham College, Mr. Marshall Montgomery, Taylorian Lecturer in German, and Mr. W. Montgomery, Canon T. A. Lacey, Mr. S. Savage, Secretary of the Linnean Society, Mr. F. C. Fletcher and Mr. Ian Cruikshank.

R. N. Carew Hunt

Vincent Square Mansions
S.W. 1

April 24th, 1930

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I

SIR HENRY SIDNEY

Sir Henry Sidney (1529-1586) accompanied his brother-in-law, the Earl of Sussex, to Ireland in 1556 as Vice-Treasurer and member of the Council. In 1566 Elizabeth sent him back to Ireland as Lord Deputy where, ill supported by the home government, he wore himself out in his untiring efforts to maintain order, only to be told that "he was ever a costly servant and had alienated her Highness her good subjects hearts". He was recalled on this account in 1578, and never fully recovered the Queen's favour. He married Mary, eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, "a full, fair lady", who, however, had lost her looks while nursing Elizabeth through the smallpox, and thereafter "chose rather to hide herself from the curious eyes of a delicate time than come upon the stage of the world with any measure of disparagement". She only survived her husband by a few months. Sir Philip Sidney was their eldest child. [See Dictionary of National Biography, Art. *Henry Sidney*.]

Jhon Cockram I wolde have you that when so ever my wief shall sende unto you for her provision of spices ye cause to be provided and delivered unto her so muche as shall amounte unto five pounde in those kindes of spices as she shall appointe you. And have care she be well served thereof to her contentement: for the doinge

whereof this shal be your warrant. Dated at Boughton the xiiijth of August,

1573

Your lovinge maister:

H. SYDNEY

and too good sugar loves besyde.

[Written by a Secretary: the Signature and postscript are in Sidney's hand.]

II

ANDREW MARVELL

Andrew Marvell (1621-1678), poet and satirist, was elected member for Hull in 1659, and represented the town until his death. He received from the Mayor and Corporation an allowance of six shillings and eight pence for each day of session, and he reported regularly to them upon the course of public business. The letter which follows belongs to the class of "news letter", of which so large a proportion of his correspondence consists.

Edward Thompson, to whom it is addressed, was the fifth son of Richard Thompson, of Hilham. He became Lord Mayor of York in 1683, and represented the city in the Parliaments of 1688, 1689 and 1695. Sir Henry was his elder brother, who was apprenticed to the wine trade in 1651 and became Lord Mayor of York in 1665. (See *The Poems and Letters of Marvell*, edited by H. M. Margoliouth, 1927; Vol. II, p. 354). For John Freak see the *Calendar of State Papers* (1676-7), p. 133. He had been committed to the Constable of the Tower for high treason on May 28th with orders that he should be guarded as a "close prisoner". There is an entry, dated September 11th (p. 318) referring to his discharge. For Danson see D.N.B. On November 23rd Richard Clark, Warden of the Stationers' Company, deposed that he had seen about 400 copies of the *Friendly Debate* "in the house of Thomas Parkhurst, bookseller, at the sign of the Bible and Three Crowns," and a warrant for Parkhurst's arrest was issued on the same day. (C.S.P. pp. 429-430). The "bloody batell" was the Battle of Lund, which began on the night of December 3rd. The Swedes were victorious but so heavy were their losses—about half the combatants on both sides perished—that their object, the re-occupation of Scania, was not achieved. The last two paragraphs have to do with the Cavalier Parliament, which had met in 1661, but which had been prorogued from November 1675 to February 1677. The

opposition contended that by reason of this long prorogation it had dissolved itself, but it met, none the less, in February 1677 and continued to sit until the following year.

Sir,

I ought sooner to have returned by you my thanks to Sr Henry, the Ale being lodged with me Thursday was senight. I intend not to meddle with it untill he come up so can make no report: onely the fellows I believe were carelesse or thirsty there being above six inches empty. The Earle of Shaftsbury came to town last Munday. The Lord Mohun is thought may recover to goe abroad well within a weeks time. Freak of the Temple was try'd today for misdemeanour in publishing a scandalous Libell. Sr Francis Pemberton and Mr. Jeffryes pressed the Fact. The witness twas one simple Booksellers boy that had an ill memory, onely that coming in he found a libell called the Chronicle and writ it out, upon the Table. Freaks counsell spared all defense and the Judges without going from the Bar forthwith acquitted him. Parkhurst, a bookseller, committed for printing Dansons Friendly debate betwixt Satan and Sherlock. Doctor Owen removed the proceedings of the Justices of peace against him into the Kings Bench by Certiorari. But there is beside Processe against him for eleven score pounds for eleven months absence from Church. Yet the meetings within the City are not disturbed. I know not whether this attempt will be more effectuall than so many former. Sr William Turner yea even Justice Bales are sued for three hundred pounds for not executing the Act. There

was yesterday news of a Letter that left the Swedes and Danes ingaged in a bloody batell and at the writing undecided. Men strive to make the Pt. [Parliament] men believe again that they are dissolved by this Long Prorogation and that therefore it will be unsafe for them to sit. But it seems to be a Cavill and if the Pt. will not believe them they may spare their turning for Statutes and Precedents.

I am
Your very affectionate friende & servant
ANDR. MARVELL

LOND. Dec. 2. 76

[On back]
For Mr. Edward Thompson,
Merchant,
Yorke.

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III

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

In 1689 William III, finding that the air of Hampton Court suited him, decided in future to spend the greater part of the year there. "But," says Burnet, "that Palace was so very old built, and so irregular, that a design was formed of raising new buildings there for the King and Queen's apartments." Wren was appointed architect, there being associated with him as Comptroller of the Works, Talman—also an architect—who later built Chatsworth. Towards the end of the year an accident occurred to the new buildings—a wall collapsed and three or four workmen lost their lives. On December 19th Wren was summoned by the Lords of the Treasury and told that "His Majesty commanded that the work should be examined into by the Office of Works and that he should report it to their Lordships in writing". Wren apparently had no opinion either of the competence or of the impartiality of the Office of Works, and declared that he would have the building examined "by bricklayers, carpenters and masons, who have left off their aprons and are without suspicion of being employed by him", and in the following letter—there is no clue as to whom it is addressed—he asks his correspondent to take down their depositions upon oath.

On January 10th, 1690, his report and that of Talman were read before the Lords of the Treasury. Wren was then called in and stated his views before the King. It was decided that the work should proceed unless Talman should appear and show cause to the contrary. On January 12th Wren and Talman appeared together before their Lordships—the latter contending that the work was of an inferior quality. He particularly annoyed Wren by stating that the "24 piers",—presumably the blocks between the windows—were "all crackt and hollow and crankt with iron to keep them together". Expert opinion being divided, it was decided to appoint an impartial commission.

Presumably it reported in Wren's favour, as the work was resumed. It need only be added that time has fully attested the solidity of the "piers". [See Law. E. *History of Hampton Court Palace*, 1891, Vol. III, pp. 23 *seq.*]

Sr

I have had the affliction to be very ill used by our Master Bricklayer Mr. Emmot at Hampton=Court in the new building there parts of whose worke is fallen and other parts in danger. His freinds are willing to throwe faults upon others but His Mtie hath given me command it should be examined and report made to the Treasury and it is much my concerne it should be rightly stated upon view.

The method I thinke to take is this: to send for 4 or 5 of the ablest Bricklayers and other ancient workemen of Reputation, and to be impartiall I had rather the view should be managed by some Gentleman, and some neighbour Justice of Peace to take affidavits of the Foremen that wrought in the worke than by my selfe. Now the Favour I earnestly beg of you is that you would please to be concerned, and I hope for the same of Lord Rane=lagh. I suppose it will be about fryday Jan 3, but of this you shall have a more particular notice if you please to oblige me with a generall consent to this request of

your most humble and obliged servt.

CHR. WREN

Innocents Day

There is no address, but on the back is written
'Sir Chr. Wren to me concerning his building fallen doune at Hampton Court 28 December 89.'

IV

ADMIRAL BENBOW

Benbow was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies in 1701, with Jamaica as his base. On August 19th, 1702, he sighted a French squadron near Santa Marta, closed in his ships, but was unable to engage the enemy until late in the afternoon. He pursued them in his flagship, the *Breda*, supported by Walton of the *Ruby*, but his other Captains refused to come up, with the exception of Vincent, of the *Falmouth*, who brought his ship into action on the 23rd. The same day the *Ruby* was disabled, and Walton was ordered to withdraw. On the 24th Benbow's right leg was shattered by chain-shot, but as soon as the wound was dressed he resumed his post on the quarter-deck. "I had rather," he said, "have lost them both than seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation." Later in the day Kirkby, of the *Defiance*, boarded the flagship, and presented a petition signed by all the Captains insisting that the pursuit should be abandoned. Benbow yielded under protest, and returned to Jamaica. He at once had every Captain save Walton, who had acted under his orders, court-martialled. Kirkby, who had got up the petition, and Wade of the *Greenwich*, who was proved to have been drunk during the entire action, were sentenced to be shot. The remainder were cashiered, with the exception of Vincent, who had taken some part in the fighting, and Fogg, who had been Benbow's own Captain in the *Breda*. Both were, however, suspended for having signed the petition, but were ultimately pardoned. The letter which the French Admiral, Du Casse, is said to have sent to Benbow deserves to be recorded. "Sir, I had little hopes on Monday but to have supped in your cabin, but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those treacherous Captains that deserted you, hang them up,—for, by God, they deserve it. Yours, Du Casse." The authenticity of this letter is, however, disputed. It first appeared in Dr. John Campbell's *Lives of the*

British Admirals (1817) Vol. IV, p. 220, with a note that the author had received it from Mr. Calton, who married Benbow's daughter, and who took advantage of this circumstance to supply Campbell with a good deal of picturesque but inaccurate information about his father-in-law. But Professor Laughton goes, perhaps, too far in condemning it as "in substance utterly opposed to all French history and to French nature" [D.N.B. Art. *Benbow*]. A few weeks later, on November 4th, 1702, Benbow died of his wounds. The letter which follows deals with the reconditioning of the fleet after the action above described.

Jamaica 20 Octobr. 1702

Gentlemen,

That her Mats. Service might not Suffer for want of some fitting person to officiate as your Agent & supply her ships wth. Ordnance stores as necessity requires I have appointed Mr. Charles Hutchinson Storekeeper and Muster Master to discharg that Duty, who not having any Creditt upon yr. accot. has been obliged to make use of the Navall Creditt for that service. I desire you'l please to reimburse the Comrs. what they have imbursted on account of your Office & that you'l confirm Mr. Hutchinson and take care for Creditt for him for ye future.

I am further to observe to you that half or Two thirds of our Ammunition is expended particularly Powder & Shott and if we should be constrained to buy the same here you'l be surprised at the prices; I desire you'l have regard thereto and take effectuall care that we be supplied therewith. I remain

Yr. very humble Servt.

BENBOW

The Commissioner of Ye Ordnance

V

JOHN GAY

John Gay (1685-1732), the author of *Trivia* and *The Beggar's Opera*, was a native of Barnstaple, and after receiving his education in the grammar school of Tiverton was apprenticed to a silk-mercer in London. He showed no inclination for this manner of life, for, if we are to believe Pope's biographer Ayre, "he grew so fond of reading and study that he frequently neglected to exert himself in putting off silks and velvets to the ladies". But according to his nephew, the Rev. Joseph Baller, his indentures were cancelled upon other grounds, for "not being able to bear the confinement of a shop, [he] soon felt a remarkable depression of spirits and consequent decline of health: he was, therefore, obliged to quit that situation, and retire to Barnstaple, in the hope of receiving benefit from his native air". The letter which follows is of especial interest. It is the earliest of Gay's letters extant, and was written from the silk-mercer's shop above mentioned. The first letter recorded by Melville in his *Life and Correspondence of John Gay*, 1921, p. 156, is dated 1712.

Coz. Dennis. Londo Jan 10 1705

I sent yr bed away last Thursday sevenight ye carriage paid to Exon, directed to Mr. Atkeys as you ordered, ye bed comes to £16 and with it I sent you an easy chair of ye same as the bed, wch my mistress advised me, being very usefull, and fashionable, he hath made ye best sort, it comes to £3, I hope they will please you, I am at present much out of order, I have not heard as yet what ye frame that ye bed and chair is put up in, comes to, but I will not fail of giving an account of every thing in

a post or two, I have sent you herein yr carriers note for ye carriage, pray tell Coz. Richd. Parmynter, that Mr. Rolles hath paid for his neckclothe. My service to all freinds.

I am yr Loving friend and humble Servant

JOHN GAY

[On back]
To Mr. Nicho Dennys Merchant
In Barnstaple Devon

VI

POPE

As a letter-writer Pope does not appear to advantage. "He loved to utter high-sounding sentiments on politics and religion, which are meant to seem lofty and magnanimous, and which, on examination, are found to be little better than evasive nonsense" (*Works*. ed. Elwin & Courthope, Vol. VI, Introd.). He himself confesses that his early letters were vitiated by "affectation and ambition" and the same criticism might, with a few exceptions, be extended to them all. He was at great pains to reclaim his letters from his friends, and those which he himself prepared for publication show unmistakable evidence of correction and manipulation. Some, however, escaped, and Bowles, in his *Life of Pope*, draws attention to the difference between the style of his off-hand productions and that of the more formal compositions which he edited for the press.

In his letter to Warburton of January 14th, 1740, (*ibid.* Vol. IX, p. 217-8), Pope says: "I have been full three months about Bath and Bristol, endeavouring to amend a complaint which more or less has troubled me all my life—I hope the regimen this has obliged me to, will make the remainder of it more philosophical, and improve my resignation to part with it at last". In his letter of January 4th, also to Warburton, (*ibid.* p. 206), he declares that he will not return to London till February. If he adhered to this decision, the following letter was probably written in the early part of that month.

Dr. Oliver, to whom this letter is addressed, was a physician at Bath and the possessor of a fine library. For Pope's correspondence with him see *Works*, Vol. V, pp. 242-244. It was he who established the Bath Mineral Water Hospital and in order to provide his patients with an easily digested and nutritive food, he invented the famous "Bath Oliver Biscuit", which was first manufactured under his direction in 1735. On his

death he left the recipe of his secret process to his coachman, Atkins, together with £100 and 10 sacks of wheaten flour, recommending him to put the biscuit in the market. Atkins followed his master's advice and made a fortune.

Friday afternoon

Dr Sir,

A new Scheme has supervened and we shall see you to morrow evening and not on Sunday; for on Sunday we shall be no more to be seen in your Hemisphære. A sudden call to London hastens us a day sooner, and we have not one to spare. I beg you to hire an easy coach of King, or any who has 4 good Horses, to be ready on Sunday morning by six, to carry us to Sandy lane or Marlborow. Let us meet Mr. Pierce with you. Adieu, and forgive all the Trouble my Infirmitys and Uncertaintys cause you. I am truly in the utmost hurry,

Dr Sir,

Yours

A. POPE

To Dr. Oliver at his house in Westgate St., Bath. To be delivered as soon as possible.

VII

LORD CHESTERFIELD

The following is one of the famous series of letters addressed by Lord Chesterfield to his natural son, Philip Stanhope. The correspondence started when the boy was five years old and contained an elaborate system of instruction in all subjects designed to enable Philip to adorn society and to cut a figure in the world. Nothing was spared to achieve this end. The boy was first sent to Westminster to be grounded in the Classics. The best tutors were provided—M. Marttaire holding this position up to 1745—and upon leaving school he was despatched on a grand tour to Germany and the Low Countries, the war with France making it impossible to send him to Paris—"that great school of politeness". It was all to no purpose. Philip grew up a good-natured mediocrity. But his father did not despair. He prevailed upon Lord Albemarle to find employment for the young man at the Embassy in Paris. He secured from the Duke of Newcastle a promise of the residency at Venice, but the Duke was unable to obtain the King's consent, on the score of Philip's illegitimacy. Lord Chesterfield, therefore, procured his election as Member of Parliament for Liskeard in 1754, and in the following year, after infinite preparation, Philip made his maiden speech on the Address. But he could never be prevailed upon to speak again, and his marked inaptitude for political life led his father to obtain for him in 1756 the post of Consul at Hamburg. In 1764 he became Minister at Dresden, and in 1768 he died. It was then revealed that he had long been secretly married to a woman of unattractive appearance and undistinguished antecedents by whom he had had two children. Lord Chesterfield bore the blow with an admirable philosophy. But he was by this time engaged upon a new educational experiment, and in a further series of letters, dating from 1761 to 1770, he recommended to

the second Philip Stanhope, his godson and heir-presumptive, the same counsels of worldly wisdom which his son had shown so little power to assimilate.

The date of this letter must be 1741 or 1742. The Emperor Charles VI died on October 20th, 1740, and was succeeded in 1742 by Charles Albert of Bavaria.

Thursday night

Dear Boy,

With your leave, we will now resume our correspondence, which has for some time been suspended; and in order to be well with you I will begin by flattering you, and telling you that I am very well satisfied with you of late; and that Mr. Marttaire's testimony of you, as well as what you did when you mett him at my house, convinces me that you have applied your self more than usuall; and if you go on at the same rate, I believe we shall be very good friends.

As your last conversation with me, turned chiefly upon publick matters, in which you seemed to interest yourself a good deal, I will give you a little more of 'em now, and inform you of what you certainly hear talk'd of a great deal, among the Politicians, that I find you converse with. I mean, the state of the Empire, upon the Death of the late Emperor. He was Charles the 6th, and the last male heir of the famous house of Austria. The House of Austria was founded about four hundred and fifty years ago, by Rodolphus Count of Hapsbourg, who conquer'd Austria, from whence his family was afterwards call'd the House of Austria. Though the Emperors are Elective and not Hereditary yett for

these last three hundred years they have been always chosen out of the House of Austria, as being the most powerfull Princes of the Empire, and consequently the best able to protect it against its enemies. The Late Emperor having no son, and two daughters, in order to hinder his Dominions from being divided and consequently weaken'd, made a settlement (which is called the pragmatick sanction) by which he gave 'em all to his eldest daughter, who is married to the Duke of Lorraine, and who is now call'd Queen of Bohemia. The Duke of Lorraine hopes to be chosen Emperor; the Election is usually at Francfort where the Electors, either go themselves, or send their Ambassadors, and the Majority of votes decides it. The Electors are now nine, as follows.

The Elector of Mayence
The Elector of Treves
The Elector of Cologne
The King of Bohemia
The Elector Palatine
The Elector of Bavaria
The Elector of Saxony, King of Poland
The Elector of Brandenbourg, King of Prussia
The Elector of Hannover, King of England.

The Dominions of the late Emperor, which the present Queen of Bohemia has inherited; are Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, Silesia, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol; Milan, Tuscany, Parma, Mantua, in

Italy; and great part of Flanders. So you see she has been a pretty good fortune to the Duke of Lorraine. Adieu.

[In the top right-hand corner of the back page of this letter is a note—" the state of the Empire ".]

VIII

ISAAC WATTS

Isaac Watts was born at Southampton in 1674, the son of a clothier who had suffered imprisonment for his religious opinions. His ability led Dr. Speed, a physician of the town, to offer him a University education, but, preferring "to take his lot with the dissenters", he went to their seminary at Newington Green, the expenses of his education being defrayed by the "Fund Board", a society for assisting young nonconformists to the ministry. In 1698 he preached his first sermon, and was chosen assistant pastor to Isaac Chauncy at the chapel in Mark Lane. In 1702 he succeeded to the pastorate, and in 1708 a new place of worship was built in Bury Street, St. Mary Axe, of which he remained pastor till his death in 1748. Among his flock was Sir Thomas Abney, an alderman of the City of London, and his wife. In 1712 they invited Watts, whose health had repeatedly broken down, to become their domestic chaplain, and the rest of his life was spent with them either at Theobalds or Stoke Newington, "where he enjoyed every comfort which generous opulence and Christian friendship could afford".

Watts was one of the most popular writers of his day, and his philosophical and educational works had an immense circulation. But his fame will for ever rest upon his hymns. He helped to break the fetters which Calvinism had imposed upon this form of composition, and his "O God, our help in ages past", and "When I survey the wondrous cross", are among the finest products of the Puritan spirit, and have found the place which they deserve in every hymnal. His *Divine Songs* (1715), afterwards enlarged and renamed *Divine and Moral Songs*, was the first of such compilations to be written for children, and by the middle of the last century had run through more than a hundred editions. It contains such treasures as "How doth the little busy bee", and "'Tis the voice of the Sluggard", together with the commonly misquoted

"Let dogs delight to bark and bite
For God hath made them so;
Let bears and lions growl and fight,
For 'tis their nature too."

Sir,

John Richardson who has been for severall years coachman to the Lady Abney is in an ill state of health and has been gone to the Bath to see if he can by the favor of God recover his health, he is a man of Serious Religion and has severall times partaken of the Lords supper with our Church, this is only to recommend him to you if he desires Communion among you, May the Grace of God be with him and with you in all affairs of this Life and that which is to come. So prays your affectionate Brother and humble Servant

ISAAC WATTS

Newington near London
May 17, 1746

[On back]
To the Revd. Mr. Thos Reader
at Weymouth,
Dorsetshire

IX

MRS. SHERIDAN
(to Richardson)

Frances Sheridan (1719-1788), the mother of R. B. Sheridan, was born at Dublin, the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Chamberlaine. Her father disapproved of her being taught to read or write, but she received private instruction from an elder brother, and at the age of fifteen wrote a two-volume romance entitled *Eugenia and Adelaide*, which was published after her death. In 1756 she placed in Richardson's hands the manuscript of her *Memoirs of Mrs. Sidney Biddulph extracted from her own Journal*, or *Sidney Biddulph* as it is usually called. Richardson arranged for its publication, and it appeared anonymously on March 12th, 1761, with a dedication to him. Both Fox and North commended it. Boswell held that it contained an excellent moral while inculcating a future state of retribution, and relates that Dr. Johnson paid its author the compliment of saying, "I know not, Madam, that you have a right, upon moral principles, to make your readers suffer so much." The Abbé Prévost adapted it in 1762 with the title *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Vertu, etc.*, and a German translation appeared in the same year. [See D.N.B. Art. *Frances Sheridan.*]

February 5th, 1756

I know that the Benevolence of Mr. Richardsons heart is equalled by the goodness of his Head, and that he never suffers a partial kindness for his favourite and Patronized part of the creation to influence a Judgement the most candid and at the same time the nicest in the world, otherwise I should much fear his good natured indulgence towards the

efforts of a very young Girl had induced Him to regard too favourably the Woman near twice Her age who dosn't now look upon herself as the same person.

I think Vanity under a show of Modesty is of all the lights it can appear in the most contemptible; how ridiculous woud it be in me to say I dont think the Novel worth Printing after it has had your approbation? before it was honour'd with that, I looked upon it as a Thing wrote in a manner so different from the present Tast that I did not suppose any body woud read it, but I will not presume to make objections and since you think it ought not to lye by as meer wast paper I shall gladly commit it to your Hand to be disposed of as you think proper. I wish Miss Patty woud be so good as to file it a little for me, for I see upon looking over it that it wants a great deal of Polishing, but I believe that you have so much better employment for her that this woud be an improper request. Pray make my compliments to Mrs. Richardson and the young Ladies; Mr. Sheridan's best wishes attend you and all your family as well as those of

Sir yr Obligd & Obedt Servt.

FRA. SHERIDAN

X

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN RICHARDSON AND MISS PENNINGTON

Miss Pennington is not mentioned in the introduction to Richardson's *Correspondence* (ed. Barbauld, 1804), among the ladies with whom he was in the habit of exchanging letters. Mr. Peckard, in his letter to Richardson of May 14th, 1756 (Vol. V, p. 114), has a brief reference to her. "Our friend, Miss Pennington, arrived at Huntingdon on Monday, safe, but not well." But in a letter of July 24th, 1757 (Vol. IV, p. 159) Mrs. Sheridan has a great deal to say about "our Penny" as she calls her, and complains that she is not as "open and ingenuous" as she should be. "Penny has not yet got over that time of life when the heart, spite of sense and virtue, is liable to weaknesses it does not care to own. . . . I know Penny loves, as well as esteems and honours you, more than any body, and yet I fear that she would not open her heart to you freely; and there is reason for it in nature (depraved as human nature is). . . . When you get her to London, pray bring her to your confessional, and don't spare penance if you find she deserves it. I would not have that worthy mind enslaved to follies of any species. None, like you, has the art to penetrate into the secrets, and unwind the maze of a female heart . . ." etc., etc.

The Rev. P. Peckard was in correspondence with Richardson in February and May, 1756, with regard to the publication of two writings: "*A Dissertation relative to the late Earthquake*" [in Lisbon] and "*A Preparatory Essay on the Intermediate state between Death and Resurrection*" (Vol. V. pp. 114 *seq.*).

But the great interest of this correspondence lies in its reference to Mrs. Unwin, who as the "Mary" of Cowper's poems was later to play so great a part in his life. In 1765 Cowper, who had already suffered from outbursts of insanity, took lodgings at

Huntingdon. He there made the acquaintance of the Unwin family who belonged to his own school of Evangelical piety, and soon afterwards he was invited to live with them. Two years later Mr. Unwin died. But by this time Mrs. Unwin and Cowper had become indispensable to each other. There could be no question of separation and she remained with him until her death in 1796. He lies buried by her side in Dereham Church. [See Lord David Cecil: *The Stricken Deer*, 1929, pp. 94 *seq.*]

[Huntingdon.]

October 31st, 1756

Ah, my kind Sir, how do I wish for the Pen of a Miss Mulso or a Mrs. Watts! to do justice to the dictates of my Heart, on the favor of your condescending, affectionate, and paternal letter. I read it to my Pappa and Mamma, and then I proudly look'd round me (as Emily does when her Guardian is mention'd) as if I would say "this, Sir this, Madam is that exalted Man, of whom you have heard so much and who thus condescends to honour even *me*"; they both thank you for your obliging remembrance of them and beg their best respects to yourself, and good Mrs. Richardson.

You did not tell me how your health was, my good Sir, but I had the pleasure of hearing that you look'd very well by a gentleman who din'd with you at Dr. Heberden's.

I had a letter on Friday from our friend Mrs. Sheridan, dated from Dublin, the 19th; they were but just arrived after a very tedious time of waiting at Park Gate, and a safe, but uncomfortable Voyage;

she gives me a kind of Journal wrote at different times, and at the end says—" is not this writing to the moment, the true place for correspondence Penny? thanks to our dear good Mr. R. for the hint; when you write to him remember us in the most affectionate manner and let us have an account of him from you". I suppose she will soon let you hear immediately from herself.

Mr. and Mrs. Peckard have been a few days at Huntingdon, but are now return'd, they desire their affectionate respects to you and are much obliged by your kind remembrance of them; she is pretty well again, and he would be so, but for the unhappy Malady (which I believe you heard him mention) of Mr. Scroope, the companion of his youth and the friend of his maturer years who is now so entirely out of his senses, that his friends are taking measures to confine him and is become so outrageous against Mr. Peckard (his once best-beloved) that he threatens coming down on purpose to shoot him, as one of his servants informs us, who came down on purpose lest Mr. Peckard should be unprepared for the visit. On how unstable a Throne, sits our boasted reason! and how very piteous a spectacle is it when it begins to totter! I never yet saw an instance of it, (and I hope I never shall) that did not cause me to lift up my Heart with humble gratitude to the Almighty for the preservation of my own.— Mr. Scroope was a man whose fine, and improved understanding, and excellence of disposition, ornamented by a peculiar agreeableness of person, and unaffected manner distinguished him very highly in the esteem and affection of many worthy persons; to

Mr. Peckard he was the Brother of his soul; no wonder then, that he who has a mind fitted to friendship, and a heart, susceptible of the most tender concern for the miseries of others, (tho' not connected wth them by the bond of esteem, or even companionship) should be deeply affected by finding himself thus woefully cut off for ever from all communion with the man he so much loved.—but how I let my pen run away with me! Will you forgive me, my good Sir? Yes, I dare say you will, and indulge me a little longer, while I tell you that I yesterday drank tea with a Lady whom I believe you have heard me mention in the number of my particular friends; her name is Unwin, a Clergyman's wife who lives in the Town, a woman of great Piety, extensive reading, fine taste and sound judgement, whose conversation is relish'd by Scholars, liked by the witty and approved by the good; *you*, my dear sir, was our Theme, and when I have said she has a fine taste, etc, I need not attempt to say how much she admired you; she beg'd of me as a particular favor, that I would present her compliments to you, that tho' unknown to you, she might have the secret pleasure of having given that respect and testimony of her great esteem for so great a Man.

The Bell ringing for Church bids me tell you (sooner perhaps than I should else have done) that I am, my dear Sir, my indulgent Pappa, by a thousand ties,

Your
E. P.

Sunday morn. Oct. ye 31st, 1756

XI

November 10th, 1756

To Miss Pennington.

Your favour before me, my dear Miss Pennington, demonstrates that you need no other Pen than your own, to set forth the goodness of your Heart, and the Happy Talents you are Mistress of. You seem not to know that what you say of Mr. Peckard and Mr. Scroope and good Mrs. Unwin cannot be exceeded in Beauty of Writing by any pen.

Who was the gentleman who gave an account of my Looks, at Dr. Heberden's? There were present 6 or 7 very ingenious and learned Men. Had I known that any one of them is acquainted with my good Miss Pennington, I would have singled him out and not have been so silent as I was the whole time. I believe he must be the next silent Person to myself. Your Excellencies and worthy Heart would have given us a Subject to ourselves.

You are very kind in mentioning to me our dear Mrs. Sheridan. You and I equally love her. Does one say anything of Mr. Sheridan's Appearance and Reception at the Theatre, of which he is the Manager? I have his Interest greatly at Heart.

I am glad to hear that Mrs. Peckard is quite well. I lament the Occasion of the unhappy Sensibility Mr. Peckard labours with an Account of his once

beloved Friend's Lunacy. A strange Degree of it indeed, that puts him upon threatening a Life once so deservedly dear to him! Admirable are your Reflections on this Occasion upon the boasted Reason of Man!

What an amiable Character do you draw of Mrs. Unwin! The very Character that I would wish every ingenious Lady to aim at and deserve. "A Woman of great Piety, extensive Reading, fine Taste and Sound Judgement: Whose Conversation is relished by Scholars, liked by the Witty, and approved by the Good." Admirable Mrs. Unwin and equally admirable Miss Pennington. You must feel these Qualities in your own Breast, or you could not so happily draw this Character.

But was I the humble Subject of your Conversations? Kind Ladies both! How much am I obliged by Mrs. Unwin's Request to you, of her Compliments to me! and of her Esteem of me! Pray make my most respectful Returns to her, and Acknowledgement of her Goodness to me. I shall be very happy in cultivating, thro' you, my dear Miss Pennington, the Esteem and Friendship of such a Lady.

Why did your Church-Bell ring so soon? Or rather, why did you defer writing to so critical a Point of Time, that carried with it so good an Excuse for breaking off; when you say that but for that you should have lengthen'd your Letter?

I leave it to your truly affectionate Sisters (still at Parson's Green) to tell you how dearly they and their and your Mamma, love you. My best Respects to your good Father and Mother, and to Mr. Farrer,

whom I had the Pleasure to see in Town. To Mr. and Mrs. Peckard: And in a most particular Manner, repeatedly, to Mrs. Unwin. Adieu my dear child! Continue to love

Your true Paternal Friend and Servant,

S. RICHARDSON

LONDON, Nov. 10, 1756

XII

STERNE

Sterne probably started *Tristram Shandy* at the beginning of 1759, the year which saw the appearance of *Rasselas* and *Candide*. He wrote with great rapidity, and by June had completed the first three instalments. He then addressed to the publisher Robert Dodsley the letter which appears below in which he offered him the book for £50. Dodsley refused it. His letter to Sterne is lost, but we know the substance of it from Sterne's reply [Printed in Dibdin's *Reminiscences of a Literary Life*. Vol. I, pp. 207 *seq.*] Dodsley was at this time making preparations for retirement in favour of his brother James and had declined the book on the ground that "if it happened not to sell it would be unfair to his brother". This Sterne confessed to be "a most reasonable objection". "You need not," he added, "be told by me how much authors are inclined to over-rate their productions:—for my own part, I hope that I am an exception: for if I could find out by any Arcanum, the precise value of mine, I declare that Mr. Dodsley should have it 20% below its value." He then proposed that a "lean edition" in two volumes of the size of *Rasselas* should be printed at his own expense, "merely to feel the pulse of the world, and that I may know what price to set upon the remaining volumes from the reception of the first". If successful, it should be followed up by instalments every six months: if not, "the loss falls where it ought to". John Croft, who claimed to have seen Sterne's notebooks, but whose *Anecdotes of Sterne* (*Whitefoord Papers* 1898, pp. 223-235) are not always reliable, declares that Dodsley ended by offering £40 for the copyright, but on terms which the author was unwilling to accept. The book appeared in December, 1759, and, according to an advertisement in the *Publick Advertiser*, was "printed and sold by John Hinxman in Stonegate" [York]. J. Dodsley, of Pall Mall, is, however, mentioned among the London booksellers from whom it could be procured. Hinx-

man is said to have been a former apprentice of Dodsley. But the first edition was issued anonymously and without press-mark, and whether it was printed in London or in York is a matter of dispute among bibliographers. On April 3rd, 1760, the second edition appeared "printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall Mall". Sterne's original suggestion that Jane Collier's *Essay on the Art of Ingeniously Tormenting* (published by Andrew Millar in 1753: second edition 1757) should be taken as a pattern was not, however, adopted, and the book resembled in type, paper and general appearance Goldsmith's *Enquiry*, which had come out earlier in the year. On August 19th Sterne signed two contracts with Dodsley in London, by the first of which he was to receive £450 for the first two instalments of *Tristram Shandy* and for two volumes of his sermons, while by the second Dodsley agreed to pay him £380 for two further instalments, six months after publication. Being thus in funds, he purchased a carriage and pair and returned to York "in a superior manner". [See Cross, *Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, 1909, pp. 178 *seq.*, and Straus, *Life of Robert Dodsley*, 1910, pp. 260 *seq.*]

York. May 23. 1759

Sir,

With this you will recve the Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, wch. I choose to offer to you first—and put into your hands without any kind of Distrust both from your general good Character, and the very handsome recommendation of Mr. Hinksman.

The Plan, as you will percieve, is a most extensive one,—taking in not only theWeak part of the Sciences, in wch. the true point of Ridicule lies—but every-thing else, which I find Laugh-at-able in my way.

If this 1st Volume has a run (wch. such Criticks as this Latitude affords say it can't fail of) we may both find our Account in it—. The Book will sell;

What other Merit it has, does not become me either to think or say,—by all Accts. you are a much better Judge—the World however will fix the Value for us both.—

If you publish it now,—a 2d Volume will be ready by Christmas, or Novr.—the Reason for some such Interval, you will better see in reading the Book.—I think it will make a Volume in Octvo. of about the size of the Essay upon ingenious Tormenting by Millar—that is allowing the same Type & Margin.—

Be so good as to let me have the favor of a Letter when you recve the ManS.—wth. what you think it worth to you.—tho' I believe the shortest Step is to tell you what I think tis worth myself—wch. I hope is 50 pounds.

I am Sir
With great Esteem
for yr. Character
Yr. most obedt. & humb. Servt.

LAURENCE STERNE

P.S. Please to direct for me Prebendary of York,—to be left at Mr. Hinksmans', York. Some of our best Judges wd. have had me to have sent into the World—cum Notis Variorum; there is great Room for it—but I thought it better to send it naked into the world—if you purchase the M.S. we shall confer of this hereafter—.

[On back]
To Mr. Robt. Dodsley.

XIII

In 1762 Sterne left England. He was already suffering from consumption, and on May 10th he wrote to the Archbishop of York requesting a continued leave of absence on account of what he describes as a *defluxion poitrine*. He had spent the early part of the year in the cold of Paris, and he now committed the further imprudence of going to the South of France for the summer heat. He reached Toulouse with his family in July, and at once set to work upon a further instalment of *Tristram Shandy*, using in Vol. 7 the experiences gained in his journey from Calais. After moving about from one place to another he arrived at Montpellier in the autumn. Here he met a Genevan with whom he had become acquainted in Paris—a M. Tollot, who was travelling in France after a nervous breakdown. In the early months of 1764 he left the South of France, which at that season might have done him some good, made his way back to Paris and joined M. Tollot at the Hôtel d'Entragues in the Rue Tournon, where for two months or more he lived " a most jolly nonsensical life ". Later in the year he returned to this country rather worse than when he had set out. M. Tollot accompanied him.

Mr. Becket, to whom this letter is addressed, was Sterne's second publisher. In October, 1761, he had fallen out with Dodsley for reasons which are not known, and the fifth and sixth volumes of *Tristram Shandy* were at first advertised in the London papers without a publisher's name. In December the announcement bore the name of T. Becket and P. A. Dehondt at the sign of Tully's Head in the Strand, and Sterne thereafter made no further change.

The Edmundsons were friends with whom Mrs. Sterne and her daughter, Lydia, spent a week or two in London before leaving for France.

PARIS May 16, 1762

Dear Sir

Be so good as to put the two Inclosed Letters into the post office the Day you receive this—because they are upon business—I hope by this you recd mine by Mr. Tollet [*sic*] and have forwarded the small Packet to my Wife—She will be sooner in Town than I expected in her way to france and possibly you will see her the middle of June.—Why I mention this you know by my last. If you have not already wrote to me, write by the return—my compliments to Mrs. Edmundson.

I am dear Sir

Very truly yrs

L. STERNE

P.S. I am very hard at work and when I am got down to my house at Toulouse in the South of France you will soon see abt What.

[On back]
To Mr. Becket
Bookseller in the Strand,
London
par Flushing

XIV

JOHN WILKES

On April 30th, 1763, John Wilkes, Member of Parliament for Aylesbury, published the famous No. 45 of his paper, *The North Briton*, in which he described as false certain statements in the King's speech. The King ordered his prosecution, and on a "general warrant" issued by Halifax as Secretary of State, he was committed to the Tower. He brought an action against Halifax, and on the judgment of Lord Chief Justice Pratt (afterwards Lord Campden) he was discharged. In consequence of the discussion aroused by this case and that of *Entick v. Carrington*, the House of Commons in 1766 declared general warrants to be illegal.

In 1764 Wilkes once more got himself into trouble by republishing his No. 45, and by privately printing his obscene *Essay on Woman*. Lord North carried a resolution in the Commons that the former was "a false, scandalous and malicious libel", while the Lords voted the publication of the latter to be a breach of privilege. On January 19th he was expelled the House of Commons, and having taken refuge in France, was condemned, by default, to outlawry. In February, 1768, he came back to England and in vain solicited the royal pardon. On presenting himself as candidate for the City of London he was defeated, but was returned head of the poll by the electors of Middlesex. His sentence of outlawry was reversed on technical grounds, but on the original charge he was condemned to pay a fine of £1,000 and to be imprisoned for twenty-two months. On February 17th, 1769, he was, for the second time, expelled the House, and a new writ for Middlesex was issued. This procedure was twice repeated, but Wilkes being on each occasion returned, his unsuccessful opponent, Colonel Luttrell, was at last declared to be the true member. In 1774 he was again elected, and the lower House having by this time recovered some degree of sanity, he was allowed to take his seat. In 1782 the resolutions of 1769

were expunged from the Commons Journals. Meanwhile he had been elected Alderman for the City of London in 1769, Sheriff in 1771, Lord Mayor in 1774 and Chamberlain for life in 1779. He died in 1793 " reconciled to every opponent from the King downwards ". The following letters were written at the crisis of his fortunes, and suggest that he held his principles with more sincerity than has sometimes been supposed.

Jean-Baptiste Antoine Suard, to whom the following letters to Wilkes and that to the Abbé Prévost (No XLV) are addressed, was born at Besançon in 1732, and at the age of seventeen got into trouble for acting as second in a duel in which the son of D'Agenson, the Minister for War, was killed. He refused to disclose to the authorities the whereabouts of his principal and was thrown into prison for a year, where he divided his time between a study of the Bible and of Bayle's *Dictionnaire*. Upon obtaining his release he went to Paris, and thenceforth devoted himself to letters. An admirer of England and the English language he made a great reputation with his translation of Robertson's *History of Charles V*. He became editor of the *Gazette de France*, and in 1774 was appointed dramatic Censor, when his objection to the *Mariage de Figaro*, on the score of its immorality, involved him in a quarrel with Beaumarchais. In spite of his royalist principles he survived the French Revolution, and upon the restoration of the Bourbons was rewarded for his fidelity.

Tuesday March 29, 1768 LONDON

I have only time, my dearest Suard, to congratulate you on the success, the brilliant success of this day, in favour of your friend Wilkes. He is well, and happy. He has acquir'd fresh laurels, and the character of decency, order and reverence of the laws.

The city election was lost by the bad management of some friends, who wou'd form themselves into a committee. The county election I have manag'd solely myself; with what decided a superiority

the event shows. I am now the first commoner in England, representing the first county. My friends lost me the city, but I have gain'd the county, and will now keep it for life. May I say that I am not intoxicated with all this, but modest in victory, which I love to be, but firm and proud in adversity? I had above a 1000 single votes. The numbers were, for me 1292, for Cooke 827, for Sir Wm. Beauchamp Proctor 807. I cou'd have carried it for any other, but I wou'd not mix my great cause with any foreign matter.

I, outlaw'd, exil'd and proscrib'd am returned Member of Parliament for this first county. All is finish'd today. What a spirited nation is this! How infinite are my obligations to them!

I am tolerably well and at the end of the week Miss Wilkes and I go for the Easter holydays to Bath. Pray write to me to congratulate me. I am not quite happy till you write to me that you share in my good fortune and congratulate me.

I salute your charming wife. Continue to love me. I beg you to assure the Baron and Madame d'Holbach, Diderot, the Abbé etc. of my regard.

Adieu

All London and Westminster was illuminated last night, and is again tonight for me. What can I do for the public to merit all this?

XV

King's Bench Prison
Aug. 28, 1769

The departure of Dr. Roux gives me an opportunity, my dear Sir, of talking politicks to you with safety, altho' matters are not yet sufficiently ripened. You observed the bold attack John Freeman made on this House of Commons so early as the beginning of last May, immediately after the prorogation, for I found that a very great majority were absolutely sold to the court, and besides had taken me en grippe. It was therefore prudent to endeavour entirely to destroy their existence, but if that were impossible, at least to ruin their reputation with all the sober and sensible part of this country. This I attempted you know under the name of Freeman so long as the beginning of May last, and now at the end of August our Westminster friends and others begin to take up the dissolution of this Parliament as a proper, and even necessary measure. It is almost impossible to carry that point, but the operation of the agitating it does us infinite service. The Ministry are obstinate and vindictive. I believe there will be no change, at least till Christmas, but perhaps they will be driven to make Luttrell vacate his seat, and then I shall come in of course. This is the general opinion at present. In all events Middlesex is secure to me for the rest of my life after this Parliament. After next April I mean to attend all city business as Alderman, and

shall be Sheriff the midsummer following. The year following probably I shall be Lord Mayor. Till that is over, I will dedicate myself in this country to public business, and the summer following, I will come to France *for my health.* It is pleasing thus to take a look into futurity. I have the public more and more my friends, but the aristocracy hate me, and with reason. I stand upon the foundation of the people, whom I shew their strength upon every occasion. I have great and essential points to carry for them, and they are content to give me the lead for that purpose. All the independent people I have; the nobility, and the overgrown gentry, who hope to be ennobled, are against me, almost to a man; but in a government like ours, and a nation of merchants and traders, the people have the greatest weight. It is said that the king is uneasy, and greatly alarmed since the treatment of the Duke of Bedford at Exeter. Many violences are talked of for the next winter, some of which I really disapprove. I have now the grave, good sort of folks with me, and I wish to keep them. I believe that no country, except Poland, is in such a state of anarchy as England now is, and will probably continue some time. The old attachment to the Stuarts and hereditary right we have been cured of by the Whigs. In the room are substituted the Brunswick line for the defence of the people's primary rights. We begin to find ourselves mistaken: where will this end? May I say without vanity that the people look forwards to the influence I have gained, in order to effect some wholesome regulations? I will never deceive them. I hope to

have my life written in the supplement to Plutarch, and will die a good, private, independent citizen.

I am in daily hopes of your letter about my nephew, and will then send him immediately to Paris.

Believe me ever, dearest Mr. Suard, your affectionate, and obliged friend and humble servant,

JOHN WILKES

XVI

BURKE

Burke's correspondent in the following letter was his cousin Garrett Nagle, of whose competence as a farmer, we know from other sources, he had no very high opinion. Garrett was, presumably, managing the small estate of Clohir, on the Blackwater, in Co. Cork, which Burke had inherited from his elder brother, Garrett, an attorney, in 1765. The Nagle family later contended that Garrett Burke had no moral right to the property, which had been conveyed to him by the Nagle family, who were Catholics, in order to evade the penal laws. (See D.N.B.) The dispute was settled in 1790 when Burke sold the estate to Edmond Nagle for £3,000. Farming was one of his keenest interests and although he speaks of his "feeble and infantine attempts in husbandry" (letter to Arthur Young of September 10th, 1771), his correspondence with Young proves that he had a sound practical knowledge of agriculture.

Lord Chatham had retired from politics in 1766 on grounds of ill-health, but in the summer of 1769 he caused general surprise by appearing, without warning, at the King's levee, probably, as von Ruville conjectures, to put an end to the rumour that he had broken down and was losing his reason. That this was not so became apparent when Parliament met in June, 1770. He at once took up the case of the Middlesex election, worsted Mansfield in debate, and presented a bill for reversing the decision whereby Wilkes was judged incapable of taking his seat. In the later debates of the session he opposed Grafton's American policy which led, in 1773, to the "Boston tea-party".

My dear Garret,

I am obliged to you for your Letter, which I wish I had time to answer as fully as it deserves. But it came to me in the opening of a very hot and active Session. Our Minority gets strength daily; and uses it hitherto with spirit. If there was any Event which could be particularly pleasing or interesting to you, I would acquaint you with it; but at present nothing is decided. Lord Chatham has appeared again and with as much splendour as ever. All the parts of the opposition are well united, and go on in concert.

Poor Terry and his Wife have been here for some time past; but there are little or no signs of the recovery of the former. My accounts from Dublin tell me that my Mother is falling into her old disorder and is very weak and declining.

I send you the Bill upon Poole protested. If you can, it were better now, and in general, to get the Bills upon some good house in London. As to the Potatoes, I am sorry you had thought of cutting them; for this will rot them, so that many will probably fail. This was unnecessary; for we understand and practice this method here; I sent to you for seed merely as a change; Indeed that which I bought last season answered so very well that I now begin to think it needless; so that if you have not ordered the Potatoes, you had perhaps better not trouble yourself about them. All our friends here, thank God, are well. Give our Love to

Cousin Molly and all your family and all our friends that are near you.

adieu and believe me
My dear Garret with great trust
Your affect. kinsman
and humble servt
EDM. BURKE

Fludyer Street,
Feb. 8 1770

All things very cheap—Wheat from 28 to 32 the quarter, 8 gallons to the Bushell. Barley from 10 to 16 the quarter.

XVII

CAPTAIN COOK

In 1776 it was decided to send an expedition into the Pacific to search for a passage round the north of America, and when Cook applied to direct it his offer was at once accepted. On July 12th he sailed from Plymouth in the *Resolution*, followed on August 1st by Captain Clerke in the *Discovery*. Cook reached the Cape of Good Hope on October 18th and was joined by Clerke on November 10th. On November 30th they sailed for New Zealand, and spent the next year among the islands of the South Pacific. Then turning north they made the west coast of America, and in March, 1778, discovered the Sandwich Islands. The expedition penetrated as far as Icy Cape but, unable to proceed further, returned to the Sandwich Islands and anchored in Karakakoa Bay in Hawaii on January 17th, 1779. The natives treated them with the utmost respect. On February 4th they put to sea, but the *Resolution* sprung her foremast, and they returned to their starting-point on February 11th. The attitude of the natives at once changed, and on the night of the 13th they stole the *Discovery's* cutter. Cook landed with an escort of marines, intending to bring back the king as a hostage. The natives at once began to arm. Cook ordered his party to return to the boats, but he was unable to prevent the marines from firing. Before they could reload they were driven into the sea. When Cook himself turned to make his way to the boats he was at once set upon and killed. Of the boats, one was too crowded with survivors to be able to offer assistance. The other, under Lieutenant Williamson, refused to draw in, and remained a spectator. For this conduct Williamson was bitterly censured, but no proceedings were taken against him. He thus remained to be cashiered nineteen years later for cowardice at Camperdown. The letter which follows is therefore of interest as being one of the last of Cook's letters

extant. It is addressed to the painter, Mr. William Hodges, who had accompanied him on his second expedition. A number of his pictures are reproduced in his *Journal*.

Cape of Good Hope Nov. 5, 1776

Dear Sir

If it were not for fear you should think I had quite forgot you I should not have troubled you with this letter, for I have nothing to communicate worth your notice. In my passage to this place, where I arrived on the 18th of last month, I touched no where but at the Island of Teneriffe where I remained but four days. At this island I thought to have got some good wine but I found myself very much mistaken & repented when too late that I did not call at Madeira. I found all your friends at this place well, they much admire your drawings indeed I should wonder if they did not. Captain Clerke has not yet made his appearance and I am much afraid I shall have to sail without him—I fancy I may now give you joy of a Boy or a Girl. I hope Mrs. Hodges is well to whom please to make my best respects and believe me to be with great sincerity

Dr Sr

Your Most affectionate friend and
Humble Servt

JAM. COOK

[On back]
To Mr. Hodges at
Pimlico near
London

XVIII

LIEUTENANT PHILLIPS

The curious letter which follows was written by Lieutenant Molesworth Phillips, who was with the landing party when Cook met his death. Driven down to the sea by the savages, he swam out with his Marines to the boats, and had just got on board when he saw one of his men, whose eye had been severely injured, struggling in the water and in danger of being captured. In spite of his wound—he had earlier been stabbed between the shoulders—he jumped into the sea again and, although he was struck on the head with a stone, succeeded in getting the man into the boat. [See Kitson, *Captain James Cook* (1907), p. 474.]

Dear Mr. Smith,

It is a long while since I have had the pleasure of seeing you, not oweing to want of good health, or great inclination, for that pleasure, but I have been occupied as all *good* people should be, though my persuits are not worth much but if they amuse, according to Rousseau they are of value, and the weather has been cold and your new room[s] I am not yet acquainted with. in the mean time, I send back your daughters portefolio, and request their acceptance of some Music, should any modern Miss tell them it is old stuff, their good taste will suggest

[that] so is a greek statue. I am glad to see another edition of your amusing work advertised. I remain with best remembrance to your family,

Your obliged friend

M. PHILLIPS

N.B. Carriage paid

XIX

GEORGE CRABBE

George Crabbe was born at Aldeburgh, in Suffolk, in 1754, and after receiving as good an education as his father's straitened circumstances could provide, was bound apprentice to a doctor at the age of fourteen. He finally set up in practice at Aldeburgh, but was unsuccessful, and in 1780 removed to London. Here at first he fared no better until, reduced to his last shilling, he wrote to Burke and begged his assistance. Burke at once took him under his protection, visited Dodsley, and sought to interest him in the publication of *The Library*, in support of which project "he gave many lines the advantage of his own reading and comments". Dodsley, however, was not to be persuaded, but when the work appeared in 1781 he gave the struggling author all the profits which he had personally made by its sale, an act of generosity which Crabbe always remembered with gratitude. In the next year Burke procured him the post of domestic chaplain to the Duke of Rutland, and in 1785 Crabbe published *The Newspaper*, which was well received, "Yet," says his son, "successful as his poetical career had been, and highly flattering as was the reception which his works had procured him in the polished circle of life, if we except a valueless sermon put forth on the death of his patron, the Duke of Rutland in 1787 . . . he from this time withdrew altogether from the public view". (*Life and Poetical Works of George Crabbe by his son*. Ed. 1901, p. 37). Indeed, for twenty-two years he published nothing. Then, in 1807, appeared the *Parish Register*, and in 1810 *The Borough*. He died in 1832, "a cool admirer of the earlier and shorter poems of the Lake School", whose doctrines he had in so many respects anticipated.

The first of the letters which follow is addressed to Dodsley, and has to do with the "valueless sermon" mentioned above. Dodsley yielded to Crabbe's solicitations and published it for him in 1788. It is a commonplace production, but, judged by

the standard of the times, it is at least commendably brief. The White referred to in the second letter is, presumably, Benjamin White, who, in the same year, had published his brother Gilbert's *History of Selborne*.

Dr Sir

I am obliged to you for your Statement of our Account and am glad to find a Ballance in my favour for which I will shortly take the Liberty of drawing upon you.

You have my sincere Congratulations upon withdrawing from Business and I heartily wish it may conduce to your Health; but I nevertheless must lament it as an Event prejudicial to my little affairs in which I cannot reasonably expect to find any other so disinterested and so intirely to be depended upon: At present I am much at a Loss what to do and beg your Advice and Assistance. I am desired by the Dutchess of Rutland to print a Discourse which I read at Belvoir Chapel at the Funeral of the late Duke: she wishes it to be done immediately and I have promised that it should be, not being then aware of your retirement from Business. Be so obliging therefore Sir as to direct me, (and if possible in a post or two,) where you would recommend it me to apply, as I fear your Plan is not to take any of these things under your own Care however small: I perceive Mr. Becket is removed to Pall Mall but I know not whether I am to consider him as your successor: if you have any who can properly be called so, I should be glad to be informed. The Sermon I am now to print is very short: about 100 copies will be wanted for the

Dutchess partly in town and part to be sent to Belvoir Castle directed to me: how many more ought to be printed for sale, together with the manner of their being printed (for I could wish it to be the best, with respect to Paper and Types) I am at a Loss not having you for my Director: But if you will write and inform me what you think a proper Number and who I am to apply to, with what other advice may occur to you on the Occasion, I will consider it as a particular Obligation.

I am Sir,
Your much obliged
and most obedt. Servant,
GEORGE CRABBE

Belvoir Castle,
Jan. 17, 1788

Is it impossible that this Discourse can be printed for you on your own Account? Profit on such an Occasion is not to be considered by me: my view is to comply with the Commands of the Dutchess and my wish to do it with your Assistance rather than any other.

[On back]
Mr. Dodsley,
Bookseller,
Pall Mall,
London

XX

Belvoir Castle Feb. 16, 1788

Dr Sir,

I received your Parcel this Day and am obliged to you for it, not doubting but you have likewise ordered all those I mentioned before, among which I hope I did not omit the Archbishop of Canterbury who is probably at this Time in Town, & if not, you will do me a Favour by conveying a Copy to him.

Tho' I have not been so fortunate as to procure a Catalogue for the present Year of Mr. Whites, yet I have written for a Volume or two of natural History which I observed in a former one. Should he send them I have directed him to you for the payment & for that purpose drew upon you for something less than the Ballance you stated between us. The Books will be about 18 or 20 shillings, & I will thank you to pay for them.

I am, Dear Sir, Your obedient &
faithful servt
GEORGE CRABBE

[On back]
Mr. Dodsley,
Bookseller,
Pall Mall,
London

XXI

H. KIRKE WHITE

James Templeman, *alias* Henry Kirke White, was the son of a Nottingham butcher and at the age of 14 was put to a stocking-loom, an employment which he soon exchanged for that of a solicitor's clerk. He at once began to contribute poems to the *Monthly Preceptor*, and his employer encouraging him to study, he started Latin, and within a year had won a medal offered by a newspaper for a translation from Horace. In 1802 he was articled to a firm of Solicitors, but, developing about this time strong evangelical convictions, he decided to go to Cambridge and to become a clergyman. To obtain money for this undertaking he published a volume of verse, *Clifton Grove*, which was received with little enthusiasm by the critics, but which was highly praised by Southey, who encouraged him in the belief that he was a poet. The book failed, however, to provide him with the funds he needed, but through Charles Simeon, of King's, he obtained a sizarship at St. John's, Wilberforce and certain other sympathisers guaranteeing him a small allowance. He went into residence in 1805, and soon gave proof of uncommon ability. But his health had been undermined by his early studies, and on October 19th, 1806, he was found dead in his rooms in College. To this tragic circumstance the popularity of his writings must in a large measure be attributed. His many manuscripts were handed to Southey, and with the title *The Remains of Henry Kirke White* were published by him with a prefatory note. In spite of the immaturity of his work and its lack of vigour and originality, the *Remains* went through ten editions by 1823, and have since been often republished. His writings included a number of hymns, of which the best known, after manipulation by various hymnographers, has assumed its final form as "Oft in danger, oft in woe". In the letter below, written at the age of fourteen, he offers a poem to a London firm for publication. It was not published.

Nottingham. Decr. 12th. 1799

Sir,

I am writing an Epic Poem, the plan of which is, " Satan, ever intent on the destruction of Mankind, is represented as the prime cause of this calamitous War. He sends an emissary to inspire the God of celestial Love with brutal malice, to wound the favourite of Astrea, the Heaven-born Orvan. Eros, thence is exiled from Elysium, and becomes the instrument of Satan, to raise in the hapless Louis, that mighty passion for the fair Antoinette, which afterward proves so fatal. Meanwhile, the unfortunate Princess is given up to pride, and the desire of absolute sovereignty; bearing with such force a continual uneasiness, she leads the Devoted King to act against the will of his People, that they at last rise up in a general revolt. The consequence thereof, and the combination of the Christian Powers. Many noble Heroes introduced, whose acts and virtues are celebrated. In the counterplot, Minerva at the instigation of Astrea, descends from Heaven, to protect the groaning Orvan from the further spite of Eros. The radiant Goddess arrives at the frontier of Great Britain, and after presenting her emblazoned Shield to the Admirals of the British Navy, she assumes the disguize of an Eremite and takes up her favourite Charge; at the same time her sacred influence, inspires the united force of the Christian Powers, that the Enemy is everywhere repuls'd. Satan enraged thereat, commands Eros, and his friends, to foil the intent of the Goddess : they

fatally succeed, by the permission of Heaven, that she arises from a deep sleep and unknowingly goes over to the Enemy, leaving Orvan to the fury of the rancorous Eros, who then gives him a mortal wound. Orvan is comforted in his dying moments by St. George, who foretells what must then happen, and the Poem concludes with the Dawn of Peace". To this I add, that the Characters introduced, are well supported, the Counterplot of auxiliar Gods, intirely new, and the unity of action admirable.

As a young Author generally labours under difficulty, till the criterion of real Merit, ensures the success of his Writings, I offer this Poem on the following very low conditions, that by it being published, my future labours may turn to more advantage.

The Invincible Aegis or the Shield of Pallas. The first 1500 lines or 3 cantos—£5 : 5 : 0. And for the remainder, each 1000, only £4 : 4 : 0.

The Poem is divided into 30 cantos, each generally containing 400 verses. I have been offered considerably more by a country Bookseller, but the advantage of publishing in London is obvious.

I would select here, some passages, as a Specimen of the Rhime, but the limits will not allow : suffice it then to say, that the stile is simple, and in support of the undertaking, even the fierce action of the brute is haply [? happily] attempted.

'As Eros pass'd, the monster tore the plains
Broke down the arch, and fiercely stretch'd his chains,

. . . . .

Thus Orvan spoke, as then led on by care,
Among the rocks that pierce the cloudy air;

Whence phantoms of the darkness issues wide,
O'er the black course where fiery meteors glide,
When as they pass along the glimmering springs,
They light grim death to dip his fatal stings.
The hideous crags which circled at their heads,
Formed lofty arches of a colonade,
Where clustering festoons and where many a dart,
Bore some resemblance to the sculptor's art.
The frighted Orvan wildly look'd around,
The dismal rocks and glaring swampy ground;
He roll'd his eyes, then with vexation wept,
Midst devious footmarks which he backward stept,
And bent with sorrow downward to regain
The path he'd lost;—but Orvan grop'd in vain.

. . . . .

I am, Sir, etc.

JAMES TEMPLEMAN

[P.S.] My address is at Mr. Bull Ironmonger of Nott^m. An answer as soon as convenient.

XXII

JOHN WOLCOT (PETER PINDAR)

John Wolcot (1738–1819), who wrote under the name of Peter Pindar, after trying unsuccessfully the professions of medicine and the Church, moved to London in 1781 and made a name for himself with his *Lyric Odes to Royal Academicians* (1782), in which he held up to ridicule the most successful painters of his day. He soon discovered that a more profitable source of income was to be obtained by lampooning the private life of George III, and in 1785 he published the first canto of his *Louisiad*. The Court, in order to procure his silence, offered him a pension of £300 a year, but the negotiations fell through. Wolcot turned his attention to other social and political matters, but returned periodically to his attacks upon the King, for which he could always count upon a wide circulation, and which were coarse, occasionally blasphemous and always offensive.

This letter is Wolcot's account of his encounter with a rival satirist, William Gifford (or Gyfford—1756–1826). In Vol. IV, Art. XXVI of the *Anti-Jacobin*, Gifford, reviewing Wolcot's *Nil admirari or a Smile at a Bishop*, had referred to its author as "this disgustful subject, this profligate reviler of his sovereign and impious blasphemer of his God". He then published his *Epistle to Peter Pindar*, very savage and dexterous. Wolcot, completely outmatched, met Gifford in Wright's shop in Piccadilly on August 18, 1800, and a fight took place "in which Wolcot was the aggressor and undoubtedly got the worst of it" [D.N.B. Art. *Wolcot*]. His *Cut at a Cobbler*, in which he sought to revenge himself, was offensive and commonplace and fell flat.

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged for your friendly intentions. It was but a fair piece of justice due to my character

as a man to attack at any disadvantages such a calumniating Ruffian as Gyfford the instant he came within the reach of my vengeance. Had not Wright and his customers and his Frenchmen and his shopmen hustled me and wrested the cane from my hand, and then confined my arms I should have done complete justice to my cause. As it was, he had a smart taste of what he will experience in future, wherever I find him. Such a pest to society ought to be driven from its bosom. *Such* is *Gyfford* lately a poor despicable cobler of Ashburton! Such is *one* of the literary Pillars of *Pitts* administration! Perhaps you do not know that this fellow is a Magistrate and possesses an annual income of nearly one thousand pounds a year under Government, to support its *dignity* by defamation.

I am, Sir,

Yours,

J. WOLCOT

Aug. 20 - 1800

No. 1 Chapel St.
Portland Place

Should you think this of importance enough to publish, you have my free leave.

[On back]
To Mr. Phillips,
Bookseller,
No. 71 St. Pauls Churchyard

XXIII

HANNAH COWLEY

Mrs. Cowley, the playwright, was born in 1743, the daughter of Philip Parkhurst, a bookseller at Tiverton. She married, in 1764, a Mr. Cowley who was employed under the East Indian Company. One evening, when watching a play with her husband, she exclaimed that she could, herself, have written it as well or better, and on his expressing surprise and amusement she composed *The Runaway* in a fortnight and sent it to Garrick, who accepted it. It was produced on February 15th, 1776, and was very well received. Thenceforth she wrote regularly for the stage, but affected an indifference to her success, seldom went to the theatre, and is reputed never to have attended any of her first nights. The greater part of her time was spent in her garden on the banks of the Exe. Her last play was performed in 1794, and after this date she published nothing but a little indifferent verse. The request for employment contained in the following letter would seem therefore to have been made in vain.

Mrs. Cowley's correspondent, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Phillips started life as a schoolmaster, but in 1784 set up in Leicester as a printer and bookseller. He founded the *Leicester Herald* in which he advanced extreme radical opinions, and in 1793 was imprisoned for eighteen months for having sold a copy of Paine's *Rights of Man*. In 1797 the premises of the *Herald* were destroyed by fire, and Philips made use of his insurance money to establish himself as a publisher in St. Paul's Churchyard, where he started the *Monthly Magazine*, and did a great business in elementary text-books upon miscellaneous subjects. In 1807 he became a sheriff of London and was knighted in the following year. He was a strict vegetarian and held singular views on a

variety of subjects upon which he was in no way qualified to express an opinion, contending in particular that the law of gravitation was without foundation. John Wolcot's letter (No. XXII) and that of Mrs. Garrick (No. XXV) are also addressed to him.

Tiverton. Nov. 17

Sir,

I have received the favour of your reply, and as I am much engaged for many days to come, I write on the instant, lest dissipation should make me seem neglectful.

Design—Plan—Project—I have none. I want to be directed. My mental powers (such as they are) are flexible, and they always bend to my *will*. I should prefer a subject which would call forth their force.—I mean I should rather be employ'd on a lofty subject than a quiet one. I am not at ease on level ground—there is not exertion enough—I love to be impell'd violently.

Under such an Impulse I should gladly write. To tell you truth, I have been a little extravagant in my furniture and garden and I wish to be still further extravagant and I wish to say to myself that I have a right to be so. You perceive at once then, that not only the pleasure of writing but the gold which may accompany it is in my view. Sordid as the Inspiration is, I will own no other.—I will create a new Parnassus, and Plutus shall be my Apollo.

Now Sir my whole mind is before you. You may command the utmost exertion of my pen, if you think proper to do so—my shrubs and my trees

and my walks and my shades are, in great measure, in your power. They will extend or concentrate at your bidding.

Should my Brother in law call on you, as I think he sometimes has done, you will have the goodness to conceal from him *entirely* this affair.

If you have any favourite design of your own, Sir, impart it to me, for my mind is so perfectly a void, that it is almost a matter of indifference what may be offer'd to it. I should certainly prefer sole work; it would be difficult to please me with the combination of any name with my own.—Whether this may be delicacy, or pride, or both, you must determine.

I have honour to be
Sir
Your faithful servant
H. COWLEY

[On back]
Mr. Phillips
St. Pauls Churchyard
LONDON.
Post Stamp. Nov 20. 1801

XXIV

MRS. GARRICK

Eva Maria Violetti was the reputed daughter of a Viennese citizen, Viegel, and came to England in 1746 to escape, it was said, the attentions of the Emperor of Austria. In the same year she made her début as a dancer at the Haymarket, and at once established her reputation. She married Garrick on June 22nd, 1749, and settled with him at 29 Southampton Street, where she lived until, in 1754, he bought Hampton House which he greatly enlarged. She outlived her husband, who died in 1799, by forty-three years, and died in 1822 at the age of ninety-nine. She was devoted to his memory, and, indeed, he never spent one day of their married life entirely away from her. He made an ample provision for her at his death, leaving her £6,000 and an annuity of £1,500. She spent her later years at Hampton House, which, in spite of the second of these letters, she allowed to fall into disorder. There it was that Queen Charlotte, visiting her in her old age, found her peeling onions, and is said to have joined her in this occupation. [See Knight, J. *Life of Garrick*, 1894, pp. 122–127 and 291–293.]

Sr.

I request the favour of further particulars respecting the Cottage advertizd in yesterdays Morning Post.

[I] beg to know where it is situated if near a church if any tolerable society surrounds it whether there is plenty of Water and if good—what distance from

Town If any Coach passes If in good repair and any other information will greatly oblige

Sr.

Your Most obedt.

hble. st.

*E. GARRICK

Wimpole St. 72
9-0.

Will also be obligd to you to inform me if provisions are easily procurd & plentiful.

* In signing her letters Mrs. Garrick used indifferently either the first or second of her initials and, on occasions, both.

XXV

Sr.

My having been from Hampton, I did not receive your letter so soon as you might have expected an answer had it come to my hands on Augt. the 9:—

I am sorry not to be able to comply with your request, as my stay in any of my houses is always uncertain; and the Picture cannot be trusted to be copy'd without my being present.

I have great reason to complain of what my servant informed me of at my arrival at Hampton yesterday; that the pleasure Barge stopt last Saturday; and the company pretended to have leave from me

to land, and do as they pleased; as they supposed, there was an agreement for an Emolument for their being admitted. The woman who had the imprudence to admit them without an order from me in my absence, was shocked of such a supposition; the company must have been composed of very mean people to suspect me of being capable to receive money for letting my house to be seen. I was told they left the house as dirty as a dirty inn with their dirty shoes; for the future, my house shall be shut up from them; and they may Idle their Time away where they can; for I am cured to shew civility to Strangers.

I remain Sr

Your Humble Servant

M. GARRICK.

Hampton Augt· the 20: [1804]

[On back]
Mr. R. Phillips
Bridges Street
Blackfriars
London

XXVI

LADY HAMILTON

This letter bears signs of having been written in great agitation. There are a few dashes, but there is not a single punctuation mark. It is addressed in Nelson's hand to Lady Bolton, Brancaster, Burnham, Norfolk. Over the address is written, also in his hand, "September fourth 1805". It is franked "Nelson and Bronte". Nelson had been staying with Lady Hamilton at Merton since August 20th. Actually he did not leave her till September 13th, when he joined the Victory at Portsmouth for the last operations upon which he was to engage. His private diary contains the following entry under that date: "Friday night, at half past ten, drove from dear, dear Merton, where I left all that I hold dear in the world, to go to serve my King and country". Lady Bolton, to whom this letter is addressed, was the wife of Sir William Bolton, who had joined Nelson in June, 1804, and whom he describes in a letter to Lady Hamilton of June 6th as "a very fine young man and a good officer". Lady Bolton had just had a child, and Lady Hamilton is to purchase a piece of plate—"value fifty pounds", as a present for "our god-daughter." [Pettigrew: *Memoirs and Letters of Lord Nelson*, 1849. Vol. II, p. 396.] On November 23rd Nelson again refers to Bolton. "I am sending him on a cruise, where he will have the best chance I can give him of making ten thousand pounds. He is a very attentive good young man". [*Ibid.* p. 437.]

How are you all—my dear friends. I am again Broken hearted as our Dear Nelson is immediately going—it seems as though I have had a fortnights Dream and now awake again to all the Misery of this Cruel Separation but what can I do his power-

ful Arm is of so much Consequence to his Country but I [? will] not nor cannot say more my heart is Broken: your father goes to day Sir Wm. Bolton came yesterday God bless

ever your affectionate,

E. HAMILTON

XXVII

BYRON

Byron became a member of the Committee of Drury Lane Theatre in 1815. On July 6th of that year Samuel Whitbread [See D.N.B.], who had been a member of the Committee since 1809 and who, on account of his keen business capacity had subsequently become Chairman, lost his reason and committed suicide. The control of the theatre was thereupon handed over to a small sub-committee of amateurs, of which Byron was an active member. The experiment, as might have been foretold, was disastrous. Although the management possessed the services of Kean, who had made his reputation as Shylock on January 26th, 1814, it soon found itself in financial difficulties and after three years was £90,000 in debt.

13 Terrace, Piccadilly
Nov. 28 1815

Sir,

I feel great regret in the apprehension that my delay in returning your M.S. may have occasioned any inconvenience: your letter had been mixed with others and as there was no date nor name to the poem, I was at a loss where to address ye author.

I am sorry to say that I know of no situation in D.L.T. or elsewhere, where my recommendation would be of service, the difficulties in which that property is involved being such as to render the strictest economy unavoidable. Many of the offices have been done away with or retrenched, and the rest were filled up at the beginning of the season.

I must also put you right on one point. I am *not* "Chairman" of the Committee, neither do I possess any greater influence than the remaining members.

Upon your poem I have no pretensions to pass an opinion. The title is poetical and the subject affords the most extensive field for the Imagination. I have no doubt that you have treated it as it deserves: with good wishes for its success I have the honour to be

Sir Your very obedt. humble servt.

BYRON

XXVIII

In October, 1822, Byron moved from Pisa to the Casa Saluzzo, at Albaro, near Genoa, which had been taken for him by Mrs. Shelley. The letter which follows was added by him as a post-script to a communication in Italian (addressed, presumably, to some agent in Genoa), written by Lega, "my *secretary*, an Italianism for Steward or Chief Servant", as Byron describes him. [Letter of January 9th, 1821.] Lega's letter is here omitted, as it does no more than give the same orders in more conventional language. It is dated Genoa, December 2, 1822.

Dear Sr,

I did not order the fire-irons—but will take them rather than plague you by returning them. I want some *Rafia* Oil and the real good Arquebusade in *long* bottles, such as you sent me at first, and not this d——d trash which I return. I told you long ago that I wished the former quality or none. You may draw on me for a hundred crowns at *Xmas* and for the remainder in January 1823, but not for more than 100 crowns at a time, as it makes broken money and deranges my accounts—being no great arithmetician. Please to forward the enclosed letter to Lady H.

Yours,

N.B.

XXIX

SHELLEY

After his expulsion from Oxford in 1811 Shelley married Harriet Westbrook, against the wishes of his family. In June, 1814, his wife refused to live with him, and returned to her parents. On July 28th he left England with Mary Godwin on a journey which is described in *The History of a Six Weeks' Tour* (1817) but, being without funds, returned about the middle of September. He was at the time desperately poor. In a letter to Mary Godwin of October 25th [Letters, ed. Ingpen, Vol. I, p. 431] he even says that he has written to Harriet for money, a course in which he seems to see nothing unusual. He had pawned his microscope for £5, and on October 27th he asks Mary to bring him his pistols in order that he may dispose of them in the same manner. His letter to her of November 4th again refers to the urgent problem of obtaining ready money [*ibid.* p. 449]. In 1815 his fortunes improved. On January 6th his grandfather died. His father succeeded to the baronetcy, and finding that his son could now encumber the property, agreed to make him a provision of £1,000 a year. Shelley at once sent Harriet £200 to pay her debts, and arranged that £200 a year should be paid to her in quarterly instalments.

2 Nelson Square,
Blackfriars Road.
December 23rd, 1814

Sir

I am in want of a supply of musical and other books on the following conditions, I beg to know whether you would agree to furnish them.

At the death of my father and grandfather I inherit a large property, which descends to me as an un-

alienable reversion. Their respective ages are 63 and 85. If you would consent to furnish me with books, I would grant you a post obit bond in the proportion of 250 for every £100 worth of books provided. Of course I can give you proof of my title to these estates, which amount to £7,000 per an.

An early answer would oblige

Your obedient humble servant

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

XXX

THOMAS MOORE

Thomas Moore (1779-1852), who may fairly claim to be regarded as the national poet of Ireland, was the author of *Irish Melodies* and *Lalla Rookh*. William Linley (1771-1835), to whom this letter is addressed, was Sheridan's brother-in-law. Fox had obtained for him a writership at Madras, but in 1796 he returned to England and joined Sheridan at Drury Lane. The partnership was not a success, and in 1800 Linley went back to India. He returned with a competence in 1806 and wrote a number of songs of a rather academic type which, together with his novels, are now forgotten. [D.N.B. and *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, Art. *Linley*.] Moore, whose musical gifts had, when he was a young man, created a *furore* in Dublin, met him in 1818 and records in his *Journal* that he thinks that Linley had been rather impressed by his knowledge of music. It is of interest to compare with the following letter Moore's comments in his *Journal* under the dates April 6th and 7th, 1819. "Received a letter from Linley, expressing great impatience at not receiving my opinion on his music; in other words, dying to be praised. Must do it for the poor man. Some of his things are, indeed, very pretty; the 'Ariel's Adieu' to Bowle's words, and a particularly sweet melody, 'Fair Leila, gentle', etc. But his style, in general, is too old-fashioned for my taste." [*Memoirs, Journal, Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, edited by Lord John Russell, London, 1853. Vol. II, p. 287.]

Sloperton Cottage
April 8, 1819

My dear Sir,

I do not know that I have ever been more flattered than I am by the anxiety which you express for my opinion of your music, and humility is such a rare virtue in this world that I am afraid you will hardly believe me when I say that I should, long ere this,

have told you how much your compositions had delighted me, could I have persuaded myself that my praises were of much value to you. But I am well aware, whatever your partiality may have attributed to me, that my real *knowledge* of music is very limited, and though I feel it deeply, I am by no means entitled to take a critic's station by either praising or blaming, or, at least, giving reasons why I like or dislike. It was this consciousness, I assure you, that made me rest satisfied with *enjoying* the compositions you sent me, without running the risk of exposing my own ignorance to you, by any remarks upon the peculiarity of their style or merits. I can only say that "Ariels Adieu" is now not my *only* favourite, and that many of your melodies (such as "Fair Leila, gentle, young and fair") are among the first that come to my lips, when I sing to please *myself*. I hope, when we meet in the summer, to convince you that (though I own I am too much given to the *sensual* part of music and that its *intellectual* graces too often escape me) such good music as yours is not wholly thrown away upon me. The "Life" is in full progress again, and I have promised to let Murray have it in the course of the autumn. It is my intention to go to town next month and make a complete and final search among all the friends of Sheridan for any remaining *memorabilia* I may be able to glean—a task in which I trust I may look for your kind assistance.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

THOMAS MOORE

XXXI

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN QUEEN CAROLINE AND LADY BYLAND

Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of Brunswick-Wolfbüttel married the Prince of Wales in 1795, a course to which he was only persuaded by the representations of his father, who desired that the succession should be settled by heritage in the direct line, and by the promise of a large sum of money. After the birth of Princess Charlotte Augusta he deserted his wife, and a formal separation was agreed upon. She retired from Carlton House and eventually took up her residence at Montague House, Blackheath. Here she was reported to have said that she was expecting a child which she proposed to account for by saying that she had adopted it. Her foolish talk gave rise to so much gossip that in 1806 a Commission was appointed by the King which repudiated the charges made against her, but which censured the levity of her behaviour. Her relations with her husband did not improve. In 1811 he was appointed Regent, and his refusal to allow his wife to see their child was upheld by Parliament. In 1813 the Princess left the country and travelled for some years on the Continent. The death of her daughter in 1817 made her desirous of returning to England, and when George III, who had always befriended her, died in 1820, she set out, declining an offer from her husband to allow her £50,000 if she would remain out of the country. She landed at Dover on June 5th, 1820, when she was received with acclamations by the common people, who were convinced that she had been ill used, and on her arrival in London she lodged in South Audley Street with her friend Alderman Wood, whose house was soon besieged by an enthusiastic mob. The King and his friends became alarmed, and on July 5th a Bill to deprive her of her title and privileges as Queen Consort was presented to Parliament, but through the advocacy of Brougham was defeated. She celebrated her victory by attending a service of thanksgiving at

St. Paul's where Psalm cxl, "Deliver me, O Lord, from the wicked man", was chosen as appropriate to the occasion. When, however, she applied for suitable accommodation at the Coronation Service on July 29th, her application was peremptorily rejected, and on her presenting herself at the Abbey she was refused admission. Two days later she was attacked by an internal inflammation. The doctors did what they could. They bled her with leeches, immersed her in warm water, and continued to the last moment to issue reassuring bulletins to the public. But it was to no purpose, and on August 5th, 1821, she died.

Marseilles the 12th of December, 1819

Thousand thank's my dear and Respectable Countesse Byland for your very kind interest you have taken in my unhappy fate. I would have had the *Prayers in Question's* if not the rapport had been all over this Place spread out of the Death of our Beloved King—my worthy Father and my only Protectur I had in England. Naturally I should fly to England if such Event as [*i.e.* so] lamentable [as] it would be for me at such Periode for the Protection of the Noble and Grand Nation. Dear Countesse Byland if you would be kind enough to let me know anything relatif of our dear King's Health, and also of the real Sentimens of the good People of Old England about myself I would be so gratefull to you for it. I trust your Health is by this time Restored and that you will do me the justice to believe me for ever with the highest Regard and Respect and truly unfeigned friendship to call you my dear

Countesse Byland my most sincere friend with these sentimens I remain for ever yours

CAROLINE Princess of Wales

dear Victorina & William & all the rest of my family present their humble Respect, my best wishes for the Count your Respectable Husband.

XXXII

Ma chere Comtesse Byland,

Il y a bien du tems que je n'ai plus reçu de vos nouvelles ce qui m' inquiet beaucoup j'ose me flatté que votre santé n'en est pas la cause—M. Hieronymus que j'ai envoyé à London pour prendre Possession d'un Palais digne de la Reine d'Angleterre et d'y faire toute les arrangement Necessaire pour la Reception: il vous aura remis un paquet de lettres pour vous et aussi pour AldermanWood. je prends la liberté de vous prié de faire metter de jour en jour tel et tel Articel dans les feuille Publique les plus Respectable et de les faire metter aussi dans les gazette de france le *Lecteur* pour qu'il [? ait] lieu en Italie que le Cardinal Consalvie sait comme les Anglais le mèpris et ave: raison de sa Conduite detestable envers la Reine et de même celui d'Hanovre pour forcé les ministres de le chasser de sa situation comme ministre à Roma! Il est abhoré par tout le monde!

Je suis en grande hate croyez moi toujours votre croyé sincere amie

CAROLINE Re.

fait mention de tout ce-ci a Alderman Wood et que lui travaille à faire chassé ce détestable personne de Roma.

[Attached to the above.]

Articles for the News Papers!—

Consalvie the Worthy Cardinal assures my Lady that it is only through Lord Castlereagh cleverness

that the Pope has been restored to Italys head again for which reason he can never act against Lord Castlereagh wishes to pay due Respect to the Queen & to acknowledge her by that Titel :—
Seconde. Soon we shall see a great event ! a Pope and all the Cardinales sold to the Empereur of Austria by that Worthy Sycophante the Cardinal Consalvie! 3. through the great influence which the Duchesse of Devonshire has over her Brother in Law Lord Liverpool that the Coronation Otho's [Oaths] will be left out the part against the Pope ! ! which is also a great Motif of behaving with neglect and insolence to our present Queen which is at present at Roma.

Mr. de Raden the Hanoverian minister a insolent ridicules Charlatan of a German Diplomate has had the insolence to call our Queen only Caroline of Brounsvic. Comte Münster his noble friend must have been giving him such orders ! ! but we trust that he will be dismis from his Situation and send back to his oblivions where he was take from to do all sort of dreadfull deed to our Queen when she was upon the Continent.

XXXIII

Leghorno the 12th of febury 1820.

My dear Comtesse Byland.

I am in great heast. I am arrived here this moment and Mr. Brougham has send out to meet me a very trustee servants with the melancolios account of our ever Beloved King, I trust now to meet you soon in dear Old England and hope to have the Satisfac- tion at a moment notice that you will be so obligend my dear Comtesse Byland to meet me at Calais when I shall see you as one of my Lady's of the Bedchamber. in the meanwhiel I send you the inclosed papers that if it should be any great necessity to delivered them to Mr. Brougham or Alderman Wood—*if such a urgent occasion should present,* otherwise keep it till I arrive in London—they are all *true* copy of the real original.

believe me my Dear Comtesse your most gratefull friend all my Court present their Respect to you and make my best compliment to Counte Byland thanks to whom we are all well but my poor heart is very sorry about the dear King—and believe me your most affectionate friend

CAROLINE R.

XXXIV

Roma the 25th of fbury 1820

My dear Comtesse Byland

I am in great Expectation of meeting the Comte your good Husband here he shall find a Comfortable appartement in my Palace here. I can assure you that I am all impatience of setting out for dear Old England but I must have a ship ! a Merchant ship would be equally good. I shall loss no time upon that you may depend upon [it.] My dear Comtesse thousand thank's for all your kind interest and heaven will once reward you for your goodness towards me and I trust to meet you soon dear Comtesse Byland in that happy Island where only justice is to be found—I hope you have received my letter as well as the parcel of papers which you are to keep until Comte Byland your Respectable Husband returns to England.

I am for ever your most sincere friend

CAROLINE R.

XXXV

Milan the 20th of April 1820

The Comte Bylands will informe you that I am on the Road to dear old England; but as the parcells of letters which I deposd in your hand's through the medium of Mr. Siccard is of great importance to my Lawyers at the present moment you will be so kind to deliverd them back into the hand's of Comte Byland which will deposd them in Mr. Brougham hand's:

Lady Charlotte Lindsy and Lady Anne Hamilton my to old trust worthy friends are to come over to meet me that I would not enjoy much of your Society my dear Comtesse for which reason I think it will be better to meet you in London when I arrive there : the Confusion would be so great and as your Health is not very good you should take great car of it, it would be much advisable to remain tranquille in the Country till I send for you—with great pleasure and lack for it and believe me your most sincere friend

C. R.

XXXVI

THOMAS CAMPBELL

Thomas Campbell, the author of *Lord Ullin's Daughter*, *Hohenlinden*, and *Ye Mariners of England*, was born at Glasgow in 1777, and after the publication of his *Pleasures of Hope* in 1799, and a rather aimless tour upon the Continent, he settled in London. He became a frequent visitor at the house of his cousin, Mr. Robert Sinclair, a merchant of Trinity Square, and in the summer of 1803 he fell in love with one of the daughters, whom he married in the same year after encountering some opposition from his future father-in-law on the grounds that he had no prospect of a settled income.

The following letter, addressed to some member of his wife's family, was written just after he had moved to a small house in Seymour Street West. To his partiality for pickled herrings he refers in a letter to his cousin, Mr. Gray, of January 9th, 1824, in which he says that "eating a pickled herring, like reading Homer at breakfast time, is become by long habit a thing necessary to my existence". But he finds it difficult to procure them "for every second time that I buy a kit of herrings in London, I am cheated with a bad article". [Lord John Russell's *Life and Letters of Campbell*, 1849, Vol. II, pp. 424-5.]

Nov 22. 1822
10 Upper Seymour Street
West

My dear Sir,

We have not had any further news from Salisbury otherwise I should have communicated the tidings to you.

To add to all my distresses I hear that there is a firkin of Herrings dispatchd for me from Scotland by

a Leith Smack about the safe arrival of which I am far from being easy. They are addressd I am told to No. 30 Foley Place. Now my late landlord there takes no earthly concern about addressing enquiries to my new address, and though I rather think that my beloved fish have not yet reachd London yet I am alarmed at the possibility of their going astray through my Landlord's inattention to those who come with letters parcels etc. You have one mark of my friendship which is that of always plaguing you when I am in trouble. Will you pity me on this occasion and enter into *my sensations* regarding the pickled Herrings. The office for the Leith Smacks I believe is near your abode and I daresay Mr. Ainsdale would do me the kindness of leaving my new address which I have enclosed that on the advent of the firkin it may be sent straight to me and not to Foley Place. I hope this will find you all very well. We saw Mary to-day and a bouncing nymph she is become. With best regards to Mrs. Sinclair I remain

My dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully

T. CAMPBELL

XXXVII

MARIA EDGEWORTH

Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) was the daughter of Richard Lovell Edgeworth by his first wife. Her father, in spite of many singularities, was a man of ability, and in educational matters a disciple of Rousseau. Maria became his constant companion and, in helping him to administer the family property of Edgeworthstown, in Co. Longford, she gained that knowledge of Irish life which she was to use with such success in *Castle Rackrent* (1800). It was, indeed, her description of Irish character which led Scott, as he declares in his preface to *Waverley*, to try the same experiment upon the character of the Scotch. But it is as a writer of stories for children that she best deserves our gratitude. Even when a school girl in London, she won credit among her companions as a story teller, and as the younger members of the Edgeworth family increased with her father's successive marriages she used her gift to entertain them, copying out later such stories as secured their approval. She possessed in an extraordinary degree the power to enter into the minds of children, and her *Harry and Lucy, Rosamund and Frank*, in spite of their didactic purpose and their insistence upon moral principles, have never lost their popularity. Her letters are extremely vivacious. She was in Paris in 1802-3 during the consulship of Napoleon and again in 1820, and has left a vivid description of the manners of the time. But above all, her correspondence is of interest for the light which it throws upon social conditions in Ireland during one of the most troubled periods of its history. [See D.N.B. and Augustus Hare's *Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, 1894.]

Edgeworth Town

My dear *Cousin*,

Now that you are a great man at the head of the paving Board of all Ireland you may *guess* without

even being a born American that everyone who can will claim cousinship with you. Whether all will have their claims allowed or have as good a right to claim kindred I leave to your Honorable self at the head of the Honble paving board to determine.

My present suit is in favor of a youth who is neither kith nor kin to me, and whom I have never seen and of whom I know nought excepting that he is nephew to a man of whom I know a great deal—of good—viz. James Kelly of Gourte and Kilcoursey—one of our very best tenants. James Kelly entreats me to write in favor of a nephew of his Mr. Richard Jackson, one of the Jacksons of Killogue. This young man had a small property but his affairs having become embarrassed (as affairs somehow or other are apt to do) he wishes, very naturally, to get into some good little snug place or situation by which he could live, and he has a notion that in this paving board you could just *shute* him. I have represented to my friend James Kelly that I really cannot write a letter of *recommendation* for a man of whose qualifications and character I know nothing. But that I am ready to give his nephew an introduction to you and I advise Kelly to go up to Dublin and vouch for his nephew himself to you. This he will do, and would set out to do this day but that a fair at which he must buy or sell comes in the way, and he could not set out for a day or two without great loss. Meantime he wishes that you would be so kind (as) to let his nephew see you that you may judge by examining him externally and internally whether you could employ him. The young man

is now in Dublin and every day at Mr. Webbs office where Kelly thinks all the world must have business or may be likely to resort. By my counsel however Kelly writes to his nephew Richd Jackson desiring him to call on Major Edgeworth at the Paving Board.

Do what your conscience will allow you to do for him to oblige

Your affectionate cousin

MARIA EDGEWORTH

Kelly will be in Town in a few days and will wait upon you with his nephew in case the youth should not have courage to present himself without an introducer. But he is not a true-born Irishman if courage fails him so far. Pray do not give away all the multitude of places which, (as Kelly conceives) you have to give, before he can reach Dublin and make his own representations for his nephew,— the most weighty of which is that he would go security for him, I believe.

[On back]
Major Edgeworth,
Paving Board, Dublin ; no date, but the postal stamp is May 9, 1826

XXXVIII

CAPTAIN BROKE

In May, 1813, the *Shannon*, a 38-gun frigate under Captain Broke, was cruising off Boston keeping a watch on the American frigate, the *Chesapeake*, under Captain Lawrence. Broke ran short of water and adopted the singular plan of writing to Lawrence to suggest that the two ships should sail under a flag of truce to some secluded spot and settle their differences. But before this letter was delivered the *Chesapeake* was under way, Lawrence, it is said, having landed five of his guns that he might engage the *Shannon* on equal terms. She was accompanied by a number of pleasure boats filled with Boston citizens desirous of witnessing the discomfiture of the enemy. But the crew of the *Shannon* had been trained to a remarkable efficiency. Broke had been the first officer in the Navy to realise the importance of a systematic instruction in gunnery. He had instituted target practice at his own expense and awarded a pound of tobacco to every man who scored a bull's-eye. As the *Chesapeake* came on he summoned his men and addressed them after the old style, concluding with "Don't cheer, go quietly to your quarters. I feel sure that you will all do your duty". "Mayn't we have three ensigns, sir, like she has?" asked a seaman. "No," replied Broke, "the *Shannon* has always been an unassuming ship." He waited until the *Chesapeake* was alongside, and at a range of fifty yards opened fire with an appalling accuracy. The *Chesapeake* was manned for the most part by untrained men, and a second broadside provoked a panic. The *Chesapeake* drifted foul of the *Shannon*, and Broke, crying "Follow me who can", boarded her. Within fifteen minutes the American flag was down. For this exploit Broke was made a baronet and K.C.B. But his active service was over. In the attack he had received a musket-blow on the head from which he never wholly recovered. He died on January 2nd, 1841, in London where he had gone for medical treatment.

Nov. 25, 1827

My dear Sir,

My *head* will not let me write all *I ought to do,* or I would have thanked you for your kind letter before. I had indeed lately hoped to have been able *to call upon you* in your new abode but during four days I was in town, was so pressed with *business* that I had no time for *pleasure* or *visiting any* of my *friends.* Though sorry that you should be compelled to relinquish your prospects in *official* life, I rejoice in your having so sensibly decided to play so *hazardous a game* no longer. In *civil* life, 'tis too much to stake health, and perhaps life itself, against *such gains!* and I wish private practice may add to your pension enough to make you always happy in the course *you have adopted. Your pension* is bigger than my *salary* at present and I fear I shall *earn no more* by service, for though by *assiduous care* of my *corporeal affairs,* I enjoy life more than I did, I am totally unfit for any *manly pursuit.* But it is a great consolation to see that my sons are doing their duty in my own honorable profession. I had the pleasure of hearing that in (the) *Genoa & Glasgow* they both *shared unhurt* in the *honors of Navarino* and write in high spirits after this glorious triumph. My visit to town just before the news arrived had indeed been solely to wait upon the Lord High Admiral to recommend the eldest (Philip) to his gracious patronage. He received me very kindly and I trust will soon make another *officer Captain Broke* to replace the *old one* thus driven *out of the line!* My second boy has been only two years afloat. *I could not keep him ashore,* and he takes to it *most*

heartily. I expect King home soon from the Cape and hope he will enjoy his long promised and *hard earned* promotion. He is a most estimable *man and officer !* poor Etough's career has been badly broken in upon by ill health. He is now commander of the Cameleon Cutter at Portsmouth having changed into her from the Stork. I grieve for poor Leith: he was a good young man. Charles Warde is *married* and got a family, but I have not seen him for *years*. Should you make a passage to the Orwell with our friend Commissioner Cunningham I should have great pleasure in talking over *old Druid* at Broke Hall. But my head aches with *writing* and I must finish. Lady Broke unites in regards to you and Mrs. Hutchison with yours most sincerely

P. B. C. BROKE

P.S. You will much oblige me if you can assist by your patronage (as a *head* of the department) young Mr. Samwell *son of old Druid's carpenter* in his election as one of the surgeons of *Westminster Dispensary (or Hospital)*. He has been highly spoken of to me as a young practitioner. His poor old Father is now superannuated, but his mother is a most worthy and respectable woman and one to whom Lady Broke has been indebted for many most kind and assiduous attentions to herself and her children. I feel great interest for them also on account of the elder son having been killed in our action with Chesapeake.

[On back]
To A. C. Hutchinson, Esqr.
3, Dutchess Street
Portland Place
London

XXXIX

VESALIUS

Vesalius was born at Brussels in 1514 and studied medicine at Louvain, Montpellier and Paris. Although the dissection of the human body was condemned by the Church he threw himself with enthusiasm into the study of anatomy, and at Paris would spend whole days at the public gallows in the hope of securing the corpse of some criminal upon which to conduct his experiments. His reputation as an anatomist secured him successively chairs at Padua and Bologna, and in 1543 he published at Bâle his *De corporis humani fabrica*, in which the organs of the body were for the first time described with an approach to accuracy. In the preceding year he had been appointed personal physician to Charles V, whose condition he greatly relieved by dosing him with the newly discovered ginseng (*Radix Chinae*). His anatomical studies continued, however, to excite the indignation of the Inquisition, and to settle the matter the Emperor enquired the opinion of the theologians of Salamanca upon the practice of dissection. They replied with brevity and good sense that "as it was useful it was permissible". Retained by Philip II in his appointment, Vesalius spent the later years of his life in Madrid. In 1563 he left Spain on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in performance, it would seem, of some vow. On the return journey he was wrecked on the island of Zante where he died of starvation on October 15th, 1564. [See A. Burggraeve, *Etudes sur André Vésale*, Ghent, 1841, and M. Roth, *Andreas Vesalius*, Berlin, 1892.] This letter belongs either to the year 1545 or 1546.

Monsieur, samedi passe est party dicy un des serviteurs de Vostre Excellence avecques une mienne Lettre escripte à maistre Art touchant du discours de la maladie de Madame et contenant a

parte une autre avecques luy escripte a Vostre Excellence par commandment de Madame pour soliciter vostre venue: Et pourtant Monsieur que je pense que Monsieur ayt receu les dits Lettres ny men estendera plus loing principalement que les affaires de puis le partement du dit serviteur sont peu changees: toutesfois les euvres de la nature sont [*sic*] estees telles que je pense que Monsieur arrive [*sic*] en temps de consoler et recreer Madame de sa presence, la quelle est sans la fievre (mais) continue fort attainte d'une merveileuse melancholie, comme Monsieur entendera plus amplement quand il sera icy: la quelle chose jespere estre tres tot et de brief: entretan je me recommande treshumblement a sa bonne grace: de Breda le XV de mars

De Vostre Excellence

tres obeisst serviteur

AND. VESALIUS

A mon Seigneur et frere le Prince d'Orange Comte de Nassau.

XL

HENRI QUATRE

On March 11th, 1597, Porto-Carrero, the Spanish Governour of Doullens, took Amiens by a strategem. Henry at once left Paris and besieged the city with an army of 25,000 men supported by no less than 45 pieces of cannon. On September 3rd Porto-Carrero was killed in a sortie, but on September 15th a relieving force of 20,000 men arrived under the Archduke Albert. The situation was critical and Henry, casting himself upon the mercy of providence, besought the protection of Heaven in the following prayer.—" Seigneur, si c'est aujourd'hui que tu me veux punir, j'offre ma téte à la justice; mais prends pitié de ce pauvre royaume, et ne frappe pas le troupeau pour la faute du berger." [*Lettres intimes de Henri IV.* ed. Dussieux, 1876, p. 266.] These sentiments did not, however, prevent him from being out hunting when the enemy attacked, and the honour of the day fell to Mayenne, who engaged the Archduke at Ailly and drove him back on Doullens. On September 19th Amiens surrendered. It was the last effort of Spain, and in the next year the Peace of Vervins put an end to the war. [See *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV.* Paris, 1848, Vol. IV, p. xix.]

The Comte d'Amiraude, to whom this letter is addressed, was presumably a Mirandola, as Henry refers to Alessandro Pico della Mirandola as " vostre frere ". François de Piney, Duke of Luxembourg, had been appointed Ambassador at Rome in 1596, but did not reach the city until March 10th, 1597. Henry had written to him from Rouen on January 20th, 1597, asking him to advance the claim of Pico " pour estre issu d'une maison qui a tousiours affectionné la France ". He did not, however, think it necessary to tell d'Amiraude that there were three other candidates whom he had desired to see promoted before Pico. Two of these, Serafino Olivieri and François d'Escombleau, Comte de la Chapelle, a first cousin of Gabrielle d'Estrées and later archbishop of Bordeaux, were created cardinals in 1598. Pico was passed over. [*Ibid.* Vol. VIII. pp, 626-627.]

Mon cousin, Je mattendoie bien pour laffection que vous me portez et au bien de cest estat que vous ne seriez pas des derniers a vous conjouyr avec moi de la redevance de ma ville damyens en mon obeissance. Aussi ay je prins en bonne part cest office comme proceddant de labondance de vostre bonne volonte au bien et prosperite de mes affeares. Jescris a mes cousins les Cardinal Aldobrandin et le duc de Pigney en faveur de la poursuite de mon cousin le Prince Alexandre Pico vostre frere pour sa promotion au Cardinalat et je vous asseure que comme je le recognois *subiect* digne et capable pour meriter ceste grace jespere que sa Saintete se mouvera a la treshumble supplication que luy en sera faicte de ma part, selon lordre que jay prescript a mon cousin le duc de Pigney et dont jescris plus amplement a mon cousin vostre frere. Vous priant de croire que plusieurs consideracions mont donne occasion de procedder de ceste sorte et que ce me sera tousiours plaisir de vous faire a luy et a faire sentir les effects et receuillir les fruicts de ma protection. Priant Dieu mon Cousin quil vous ayt en sa sainte et digne garde. Escript a Fontainebleau le VII[e] jour de Novembre 1597

HENRY

[Written by a secretary and signed by Henry: countersigned in another hand.]

XLI

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD

François, Duc de la Rochefoucauld, was born at Paris in 1613, and after receiving a rather scanty education joined the army at sixteen, where he distinguished himself by his courage. His liaison with Mme. de Longueville, which dates from 1645 drew, him into the ranks of the Frondeurs, and he took an active part in the first and second Fronde—always gallant and always unfortunate. In the battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine he was severely wounded, and was obliged to retire to his property at Verteuil, where he lived in seclusion until, with the rise of Louis XIV to absolute power, he reappeared at Court. He became one of the shining lights of the brilliant literary society of the day, and at the Hôtel de Rambouillet and, above all, in the salon of Mme. de Sablé, he laid the foundation for the famous observations which with the title "*Réflexions ou sentences et maximes morales*" were published in 1685, and which he frequently re-edited with corrections and additions. He died in 1680, and the letter below is of especial interest as being the last of his letters extant. (For his life, see the biography prefixed to the collected edition of his works edited by Gilbert and Gourdault, 1881.)

Among the consequences of the collapse of the Fronde not the least important was the conversion of Mme. de Longueville, who, seeing that all her plans had miscarried, took refuge in religion as offering the only means of satisfying her ambition while preserving her *amour-propre*. With her unfailing instinct for style, she attached herself to the Carmelites and to Port Royal, where, in the words of Sainte-Beuve, "elle raffinait dans l'ascéticisme comme elle avait fait dans la galanterie ou dans l'intrigue". [*Port-Royal*, V, 131; see his admirable pages upon her conversion; *ibid.* 123 seq.] She died on April 15th, 1679. She left her fortune to be divided between the Carmelite monastery and Port-Royal, expressing the wish that her body should be buried in the one in which she died and her heart in the other.

Je vous assure, Monsieur, que je vous honore de tout mon estime et que personne ne vous est plus veritablement attaché que moy mais je vous avoue que je trouvois votre silence un peu trop long. Je suis recognoissant au Roy de la grace qu'il vient de vous rendre autant que si cetoit a moymesme puisqu' elle me procure de vos nouvelles. J'ay admiré comme vous les derniers moments de Madame de Longueville et je vous suis obligé de ce que vous me marquez de sensible sur cette perte, mais je ne puis vous rien dire encore de son testament car je ne l'ay point veu. Croiez que sytot que j'en auray cognoissance je vous le manderay et que je suis sincerement

vostre amy

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD

le 30 decembre 1679

XLII

MALEBRANCHE

Malebranche was born at Paris in 1638 and after studying philosophy at the Collège de la Marché, and theology at the Sorbonne, he joined the Congregation of the Oratory in 1660 and sought in vain to interest himself in research upon the early Christian fathers and in biblical criticism. In 1664 he chanced upon Descartes' *Traité de l'homme*, which so powerfully worked upon him that palpitations of the heart compelled him to lay it aside. Thenceforth he devoted himself to philosophy, and in 1674 published his great work, *De la recherche de la vérité*. He died in 1713, his end, it is said, being hastened by a metaphysical discussion into which he had been drawn with Bishop Berkeley.

Arnauld, the famous Jansenist, had incurred the hostility of the Jesuits by his *De la fréquente communion*, and in 1656 was expelled from the Sorbonne. He was, at the time, one of Malebranche's closest friends, the bond of union being their common veneration for Descartes. In 1679 he was driven from Port Royal and was compelled to take refuge in the Netherlands. Before he left Paris, Malebranche promised to send him his *Traité de la nature et de la grace*, in which he proposed to demonstrate on rational grounds the doctrines of grace, predestination and original sin. Arnauld duly received the manuscript, but was occupied and did not look at it. On hearing that it was in the press he asked Malebranche to suspend publication until he had given his opinion. Malebranche declined, and in 1681 the book appeared. Bossuet and others felt that it called for an apology, and Arnauld, being with little difficulty persuaded to undertake the task, produced his *Des vraies et des fausses idées* (1683). The educated world followed with the keenest interest the duel which resulted, in which the orthodox position was assailed by a new and transcendental philosophy of ideas used by Malebranche to support his mystical conception of the *vision en Dieu*. The dispute continued until 1694, when Arnauld died

in his eighty-third year, pouring out works of controversial theology to the last. The letter which follows was probably written soon after the appearance of Arnauld's attempted refutation. [See Zimmermann. *Arnaulds Kritik der ideenlehre Malebranches*, 1920.]

For Le P. Quesnel (1634-1719) to whom this letter is addressed see Sainte Beuve, *Port-Royal*, Vol. V, pp. 482-483. "Le père de la troisième génération de Port-Royal", he was a friend and disciple of Arnauld, and it was he who warned him of the approaching publication of Malebranche's *Traité* (*ibid.* pp. 376-377). His *Réflexions morales sur le Nouveau Testament* was singled out for condemnation by Clement XI and 131 of its propositions were condemned in the bull *Unigenitus* (1713).

A Paris le 17 juin.

Vous ne vous êtes pas trompé; l'amertume de M. Arnaut m'a fait de la Peine. La dissension ne doit pas être un orage. C'est l'exposé des raisons qui determine nos jugements. Elles peuvent être bonnes, elles peuvent être mauvaises; chacun les approuve ou les combat, suivant ce qui lui en semble; mais s'emporter parce qu'on croit mieux voir qu'un autre, pretendre lui imposer ses idées n'est ni chrétien ni sensé: tout cela au reste ne m'empesche pas de rendre justice a M. Arnaut, mais je crois que la perpetuité n'en seroit pas moins bonne s'il étoit un peu moins emporté.

MALEBRANCHE

[On back]
Au Reverend Père Quesnel
Pretre de l'Oratoire

XLIII

PUFENDORF

Samuel Pufendorf was born in 1632, the son of a German pastor. He studied at Leipsig and Jena, and obtained the post of tutor to the son of the newly-appointed Swedish Minister at Copenhagen. He arrived there with his patron at a moment when friction between the two countries had become acute, and was thrown into prison, where he remained for eight months. He used his captivity to digest the works of Grotius and Hobbes, and in 1660 published at The Hague his *Elementa jurisprudentiae naturalis*, which at once made his reputation. The Elector Palatine founded a legal chair for him at Heidelberg. Here he published a work upon the constitution of the Empire under the pseudonym of Severin Mongambano which caused an outcry, and was publicly burned at Vienna. Feeling himself unsafe in Germany he went to Stockholm in 1670 and, at the request of the King, wrote the history of Sweden. The last part of his life was spent at Berlin, whither he was invited by Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, who desired him to write the history of his reign, made him an aulic councillor, and gave him a salary of 2,000 crowns. His best known work is his *De iure naturæ et gentium* (1672) in which, with mathematical precision, he expounded and systematised the principles of international law. Unlike Grotius, his writings are inspired by a persistent hostility to the Roman Church, and it is to one of his historical writings, the *Historische und politische Beschreibung der geistlichen Monarchie des Pabstes* (1679), that the following letter refers.

The reference to Richer and to the Sorbonne suggests that Pufendorf's correspondent belonged to the University of Paris. Edmond Richer was appointed Syndic of the Faculty of Theology in 1608, and got himself into trouble through his *De ecclesiastica et politica potestate* (1611), in which he asserted in the clearest terms the liberties of the Gallican Church. The influence of the nuncio procured his removal from his office, but the Duc d'Epernon, dissatisfied with this punishment, had him seized

by some archers and conveyed to the prison of Saint-Victor, intending to send him to Rome where he would be handed over to the Inquisition. The University obtained his release, but the agitation which his book had occasioned continued, and he spent the rest of his life in defending himself against his enemies.

Monsieur

Je serois flatté que la dissertation historique et politique sur l'empire du Pape se repandit en france, mais cette entreprise vous exposeroit à trop de désagrements, croyez-moi, renoncez-y. Ce n'est pas sous les murailles de la Sorbonne qu'on peut divulguer le Papisme. Vous seriez enfermé, peut-être eprouveriez-vous pis. Vous savez l'historie de Richer: un de vos Ducs ne dédaigna pas de servir de l'hallebardier au Sacré College et de tenter d'enlever ce theologien pour le livrer aux tortures. Jugez de ce qui vous arriveroit dans les circonstances ou vous êtes. Mon exemple peut vous le faire entendre. Les moines sont dechainés contre moi; mon livre est plein de faussetés de principes dangereux: j'ai devoilé le Scandale du Papisme, tout protegé que je suis par plusieurs souverains je suis necessairement un ennemi du thrône. Vous êtes dans une position moins favorable; vous vivez dans un pays catholique, vous seriez accablé. Renoncez à vostre dessein c'est un conseil sur lequel j'insiste quoique je vous le donne à regret.

Je suis monsieur
vostre tres humble et tres obeissant
serviteur,
PUFENDORF

Berlin. 20 avril 1683

XLIV

MABILLON

(to Bossuet)

Jean Mabillon (1632-1707) Superior General of the Congregation of St. Maur, was the leader of the first generation of those Benedictine *érudits* who did so much to advance knowledge in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. He was the founder of Latin paleography, and in his *De re diplomatica* laid down the principles which still govern the use of diplomatic instruments *ad historicam probationem*. These principles he applied in his great work, the *Acta Sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, in which the lives of the early Benedictines were for the first time related to the ecclesiastical and civil history of the Middle Ages. Louis XIV called him " le plus savant homme de mon royaume ", to which judgment Bossuet is said to have added : " et le plus humble ". [See *Mélanges et Documents publiés à l'occasion du 2me, centenaire de la mort de Mabillon*, being Vol. V. of the *Archives de la France Monastique*, 1908.]

The letter which follows is addressed to Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux. For the *Instruction Pastorale* see *Œuvres de Bossuet* (ed. 1820), Vol. VII, pp. 559 *seq.* It was directed against the *Exposition de la foi touchant la Grace et la Prédestination* of the Abbé Barcos (d. 1678), the nephew of Saint-Cyran and the pupil and heir of Jansenius, which was published posthumously in 1696 and was condemned by the Archbishop of Paris for its Jansenist doctrines. [Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, Vol. II, p. 219 and Vol. V, pp. 287-288.] The " livres faits contre l'édition de St. Augustin " were Molinist attacks on the great Benedictine edition of St. Augustine (Paris, 1679-1700), which was accused of leaning towards Jansenism. Innocent XII, who was at that time Pope, was a strict Augustinian, and the Jansenists were expecting some change of policy in their favour. Mabillon himself cannot be called a Jansenist, but his friend and fellow Maurist, Thierry, with whom he associates himself in this letter, was later one of the most ardent appellants against the bull *Unigenitus*, in which

Clement XI condemned Jansenism in 1713. It was he who published the writings of Edmond Richer, upon which the party which sought to work independently of the bishops more particularly took their stand, and as an exile in Holland he took a leading part in setting up the Old Catholic hierarchy at Utrecht.

Monseigneur,

J'ay recu l'Instruction pastorale que Mons. Le Theu m'a fait l'honneur de me donner de votre part. Je l'ay luë avec le même plaisir que je lis tout ce qui vient de votre main. Je ne doute pas que Dieu n'y donne sa benediction et qu'elle ne soit tres utile, non seulement pour nos Freres errans, mais même pour les Catholiques. Il y a des passages admirables pour la perpetuité de l'Eglise. Un Docteur de Sorbonne me dit ces jours passes qu'il l'a trouvée si belle, cette Instruction, qu'il l'avoit luë deux fois. Dieu veuille vous conserver pour le bien de l'Eglise et pour la consolation de ceux qui vous honorent comme nous faisons D. Thierry et moy. Il joint ses remerciemens aux miens pour le meme present qu'on luy a fait de votre part.

On nous mande de Rome que les livres faits contre l'édition de se Augustin ont esté censures au St. office le 12me du mois passé, le Cardinal Carpegna y presidant a la place de M. le Cardinal de Bouillon. Je ne doute pas que V. G. ne sache le reste par Monseigneur l'Arch. de Reims. Je suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur,

Votre tres obeissant serv.

F. JEAN MABILLON

le 5 juin 1700

XLV

L'ABBÉ PRÉVOST

Antoine François Prévost d'Exiles (1697-1763), commonly called the Abbé Prévost, was educated by the Jesuits, and after serving for some years in the army joined the Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur in 1721, apparently in consequence of an unfortunate love affair. In 1727 he applied to be transferred to Cluny where the discipline was less severe and, anticipating the brief from Rome sanctioning this step, he left his monastery without permission. A *lettre de cachet* was issued against him, and he fled to Holland, where in 1733 he published his *Manon Lescaut*. In 1728, and again in 1733, he visited England. He became a warm admirer of this country, and as the translator of Dryden's *All For Love*, Hume's *Tudors*, Richardson's novels, etc., he did much to make our literature known upon the Continent. In 1735 he returned to France, made his peace with the Church, and soon afterwards became almoner to the Prince de Conti, where his poverty—he was, he says, "sans un bénéfice de cinq sous"—led him into certain rather compromising literary adventures. In 1754 the Pope rewarded the creator of Manon and the Chevalier des Grieux by appointing him Prior of Saint-Georges de Gesnle. His last years were spent in retirement at St. Firmin, near Chantilly, whence this letter was written. [See V. Schröeder, *L'Abbé Prévost*, 1898.]

The Abbé Coyer (1707-1782), to whom he refers, was born in humble circumstances and, after receiving his education from the Jesuits, became a priest in 1731. In 1736 he abandoned his orders, and thereafter devoted himself to writing upon social and economic questions. His *Noblesse Commercante* (1756) roused great indignation by its suggestion that the *noblesse* might improve their fortunes and at the same time assist their country if they would engage in commerce, a proposal which Voltaire, in particular, covered with ridicule. In 1761 Coyer, who had got himself into trouble with the police through his *Histoire de*

Jean Sobieski (1761), visited Ferney and asked if he might spend six weeks there. "Monsieur l'abbé," replied Voltaire, "savez-vous la différence qu'il y a entre don Quichotte et vous? C'est que don Quichotte prenait les auberges pour des châteaux, et que vous prenez les châteaux pour des auberges." Coyer left Ferney early next morning. [For an article on him see F. C. Green, *Eighteenth Century France*, 1929, pp. 70-110.]

à St. Firmin, 12 d'aout 1760

Il est vrai, Monsieur, que je n'ai pas encore commencé la traduction des Tudors de M. Hume. Je remettois cette entreprise à l'hiver. Mais si vous souhaitez bien ardemment de vous en charger, je suis pret à vous résigner tous mes droits, par le seul motif de vous obliger; et je vous assure que ce sentiment est très sincère. Vous n'êtes pas le seul à qui la même idée soit venue. M. l'Abbé Coyer m'a fait, comme vous, la grace de me demander là-dessus mes dispositions. Je lui ai fait la même réponse et je croiois mon offre acceptée, lorsqu'il qu'a temoigné, par une seconde lettre, que differentes raisons l'avoient fait changer de vues. Ainsi, je puis vous céder, Monsieur, tous les droits qu'il m'a rendus. Quelques mots de politesse m'acquitteront du coté de M. Hume, qui s'attend à me voir franciser ses Tudors comme ses Stuarts, et qui m'en a déjà fait ses remercimens, accompagné du present de ses ouvrages. A l'égard de MM. Durand et Saillant, mes libraires, avec lesquels j'ai des engagemens que je ne puis rompre sans leur participation, vous pouvez les voir, leur montrer ma lettre, et les assurer que j'approuverai tout ce qu'ils voudront conclure avec vous; non par mécontentement de ces

deux Messieurs, dont je n'ai au contraire qu'à me louer beaucoup, ni par dégout d'un livre dont je fais le plus grand cas, mais, je le répète, Monsieur, uniquement pour vous obliger, et pour établir, si j'en étois capable par mon exemple, le règne des bons procédés dans la République des Lettres, qui est notre Patrie commune. J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur, d'être avec une vive reconnoissance pour vos politesses,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,
L'Abbé Prevost

Aumr. de S. Altse)
Mgr. le Prince de Conty

[On back]
Monsieur Suard, chez Madame le Pan
rue St. Benoit
à Paris

XLVI

VOLTAIRE

The reference to the Calas case gives this letter an especial interest.

Jean Calas was a tradesman of Toulouse and a Huguenot. On the evening of October 13th, 1761, his brother and a friend found his eldest son hanging in the storeroom of the shop. They called the father, and the three attempted in vain to restore consciousness. Thereupon they summoned a doctor, but did not tell him the circumstances under which the body had been found. The doctor at once saw that death was due to strangulation. Meanwhile the usual crowd collected outside the house and arrived at the opinion that Calas had murdered his son to prevent him from becoming a Catholic. At this point a magistrate arrived with some soldiers and, at once assuming that this hypothesis was correct, arrested the whole household. On March 10th, 1762, Calas was condemned to be broken on the wheel, and on the 11th this barbarous sentence was carried out. He met his end with great courage, and died protesting his innocence. The property of the deceased was confiscated and the family was reduced to penury.

Voltaire heard of the matter towards the end of March, and invited the surviving son, Donat, to Ferney. He was delighted with him—" un enfant simple, ingénu, de la physionomie la plus douce et la plus interessante et qui, en me parlant, faisait des efforts inutiles pour retenir ses larmes." The reports which reached him of the father were excellent. There did not appear to have been, nor, in fact, was there a shred of evidence against him. Indeed, the Parlement of Toulouse had not even troubled in its *arrêt* to specify the charge on which he was accused.

For the next three years Voltaire threw himself into the task of procuring a decree of rehabilitation. He wrote pamphlets, organised collections, extracted subscriptions from half the crowned heads of Europe—Frederick the Great and Catherine

of Russia both sent contributions—and approached everyone in France who could be of service from the King and Mme. de Pompadour downwards. On March 9th, 1765, the judgment of the Parlement of Toulouse was reversed. Donat Calas was at Geneva, and "je vous avoue," writes Voltaire, "que je n'ai de ma vie touché une joie plus pure qu'en embrassant le petit Calas lorsque nous reçûmes en même temps la nouvelle de la plus ample justice qu'on ait encore faite en France à l'innocence opprimée." The sum of 36,000 francs was paid to the family by order of Louis XV as compensation for the loss of their possessions. Calas was the last Protestant martyr of France. By the edict of November 17th, 1787, the Huguenots were accorded a large measure of toleration. Two years later the French Revolution broke out, and on August 28th, 1789, the Catholic and the Protestant religions were placed on an equal footing.

The letter which follows is addressed to Mariette, one of the three counsel briefed to procure the reversal of the sentence. In it Voltaire acknowledges receipt of Mariette's "opinion", which, with those of the other counsel, had recently been published for the enlightenment of public opinion. [On the Calas Case see Th. Huc, *Le procès Calas* (1855) and B. Wege, *Der Prozess Calas im Briefwechsel Voltaires* (1897).]

au Chateau de Ferney. 2 janvier 1763.

Je ne manquerai pas, Monsieur, de faire tout ce qui dépendra de moi, dès que j'aurai lu le mémoire que vous voulez bien m'annoncer, et que sans doute vous me ferez parvenir contre signé.

Je suis attaché à M. Duverney depuis bien long-temps; je lui ai obligation, je me croirai trop heureux d'engager mes amis à le servir, mais je scais qu'il n'en a pas besoin, et qu'il ne peut avoir un mauvais procez.

Vous n'avez point sans doute reçu mon paquet concernant des echanges que je fais avec l'eglise, et qui exigent, je crois, une ratification du conseil.

Ce n'est qu'une simple affaire de forme. M. D'amilaville vous a sans doute fait parvenir les pièces par la petite poste.

Vous acquerez beaucoup d'honneur, Monsieur, en prenant la deffense de l'innocence de Calas, et l'honneur dans vôtre noble profession, amène tôt ou tard la fortune.

Je vous suplie de m'envoyer vôtre nouveau mémoire pour les Calas dès qu'il sera imprimé il ne m'appartient point du tout d'écrire sur cette affaire; c'est assez que j'aie obtenu que vous écriviez; l'avanture des Calas, donnera lieu sans doute a beaucoup d'écrits; mais pour moi, j'ai rempli tous mes devoirs, en remettant leur cause entre vos mains.

Ne doutez pas, monsieur, que l'on ne vous presente un exemplaire de l'Edition de Corneille; je ne connais point l'édition de mes faibles ouvrages dont vous me parlez; on en achêve une actuellement, que j'aurai l'honneur de vous faire parvenir, si la chambre Sindicale de Paris ne la vole pas en chemin.

J'ai l'honneur d'être parfaitement Monsieur
votre tr humble et obeisst. serviteur,

VOLTAIRE

XLVII

LINNÆUS

Carl Linnæus (ennobled as Carl von Linné in 1761) was born in 1707 of humble parentage at Rashult in South Sweden and was severely handicapped by extreme poverty in his efforts to obtain recognition as a naturalist. His visit to Holland in 1734, to obtain a medical degree, was the turning point in his fortunes. He made the acquaintance at Leyden of the great doctor Boerhave, who introduced him to George Clifford, a director of the Dutch East India Company, who had a large garden at Hartecamp, near Haarlem, of which he made Linnæus the curator. Meanwhile the elder Gronovius to whom he had shown the manuscript of his *Systema Naturae* had been so much impressed that, with the aid of a few friends, he published it at his own expense. In 1741 Linnæus reached the goal of his ambition with his appointment to the chair of botany at Upsala, which he held for thirty-seven years until his death in 1778. But before the age of thirty he had published ten books of fundamental importance to naturalists. In particular, he had revolutionised the classification of plants. The sexual system which he constructed to include every known plant was, indeed, as he himself confessed, an artificial one. But it greatly assisted the advance of botanical science, and even to-day a large number of genera and species are upheld on his authority.

Valmont de Bomare, to whom this letter is addressed, had written to Linnæus on May 10th, 1764, begging, with expressions of profound respect, to be allowed the privilege of communicating with him. In this letter he describes himself as "demonstrateur d' histoire naturelle à Paris". He was the author of a *Dictionnaire raisonné universel d'histoire naturelle* (1764) which went through many editions and was translated into Italian (1767) and Dutch (1769). It is to his failure to obtain a copy of this work that Linnæus refers.

Viro Clarissimo
DD Valmont de Bomare
s, p, d,
Car. a. Linné
Eques.

Epistolam quam ad me exarasti die 10 Mayi praecedentis anni, hoc ipso die ad me accessit per D. Baner, adeoque annuo fere itinere. Ex illa perspicio quam sis in me gratiosus et amicus, licet nulla ratione potui tuam promereri gratiam; optarem scire qua ratione provocatus mutuum animum testari possem. Optavi diu aliquem Parisiis attingere amicum, qui mecum communicaret nova, quae ex toto orbe, tamquam in commune eruditorum forum, confluunt merces, imprimis eam spectantes scientiam, quam ambo colimus. Ad vestrum Paradisum primum pervenere omnes istae rariores plantae, quae hodie fulgent in Europaeorum hortis. Vidi stupendum Thesaurum novarum Avium e Museo Reaumuni a D. Brissonio descriptum. Vidi vastissimum numerum insectorum Europaeorum a D. Geoffroi propositum; vastissima musea Curiosissimorum Gallorum continent tot Conchilia, Pisces, Amphibia etc ut te ter felicem praedicem, qui poteris eiusmodi Cimelia coram intueri; ne dicam Plantas, quibus excellit Hortus Parisinus prae reliquis omnibus per totam Europam. Tu habitas in felicissimo climate, ut poteris quotannis libare sapidissima fercula; ego infelix habito in gelida regione, ubi ultra mensem

gelu non cessat vel aestus; sed quod iniquissimum florae nostrae cultoribus, ubi mensis Decembris, Januarii, imo saepe etiam Februarii, pro continuis nebulis vix ullo die illustrant hybernaculorum plantas; dimicandum nobis est per totum annum cum omnibus elementis: felices vos si noveritis bona. Omnia quae nos videbimus, a vobis amicissimis mutuori cogimur. Vides itaque quam mihi sis amicissimus si velis mecum communicare nova vostra in naturae regnis et in Literatorum pomariis, cum vestrates libri in Historia naturali rarius ad nos deferuntur, adeoque ego nunquam tua opera gustare aut videre potui, quod impense doleo.

Devotissima mea dicas omnibus tuis, qui amant virtutem et Naturae scientiam.

datam Upsaliae 1765 die 16 Aprilis.

Si rescribas mittas sub sequenti inscriptione *Societati Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliae* et certo in meas manus ocius perveniant.

[Translation]

The letter which you indited to me on the 10th day of May of last year, has reached me this same day, by the hand of Monsieur Baner, so that it has had nearly a year's travelling. From it I perceive the favour and friendship which you bear to me, although I have in no way been able hitherto to earn such favour: I could wish I knew how to accept this challenge and give witness that I return your regard. I have long wished to win some friend in Paris who might communicate to me those new things which flow together like merchandise into that common mart of learned men; especially

regarding that science which we both pursue. Your Paradise was first to receive all those rarer plants which to day shine in the gardens of Europe. I have seen that an amazing store of new birds, from the Musée Réaumur, was described by M. Brisson. I have seen that a large number of European insects was exhibited by M. Geoffroi: the huge museums made by Frenchmen (the most inquiring of mankind) contain so many *Conchylia, Pisces, Amphibia,* etc., that I count you a thrice happy man to have such treasures before your eyes. I do not speak of *Plants,* wherein the Paris Garden excels all others throughout Europe. You live in a most happy clime, since every year you can taste of the most savoury dishes. I, unhappy, live in a frosty region, where during more than a month either the frost is unbroken or the heat: where, hardest of all for those who devote themselves to our *Flora,* throughout December, January, and often indeed February, such is our constant mist that scarcely on any day does light reach to the plants of this wintry region. We have to fight the whole year with every element: happy you, if you know your good fortune! If we are to see anything, we are compelled to borrow it from your most friendly selves. You see then how great a friend you will be to me if you are willing to communicate to me your new things in the realms of nature, and in the orchards of your men of letters: for the books of your countrymen on Natural History reach us but seldom, so that I have never been able to taste of your works or see them, which I lament grievously.

Speak my deep devotion to all of your countrymen who love virtue and the Science of Nature.

Written at Upsala 1765, the 16th day of April.

If you write back, send your letters under the address following "*To the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsala*", and they will certainly come quicker into my hands.

XLVIII

CONDORCET

This letter bears neither date nor address, and it is not easy to say to what subject Condorcet is referring. His early interests were mathematical, and it was not until 1770 that he began to interest himself in social and political questions. At the same time, the letter would seem to have been written prior to Voltaire's death in 1778. The reference to Voltaire is, however, of little assistance, as there was scarcely any part of the legal system of his day which he had not at some time expressed the desire to see altered or abolished. Condorcet may perhaps be referring to the edict for the reform of the Parlement de Paris, upon which he has a good deal to say in his letters to Turgot of the years 1770 and 1771. [See Ch. Henry *Correspondence inédite de Condorcet et de Turgot*, 1883]. Voltaire, like all other enlightened persons, was strongly in favour of the proposed reforms [see his letter of March 21st, 1771. *Correspondence* Vol. XXIII p. 459]. But the weakness of Louis XVI undid the good work of the Chancellor, Maupéou, and the Parlement was re-established in its functions in 1774. [See Glasson, *Le Parlement de Paris*, 1901, Vol. II, pp. 349 *seq.*]

It is also just possible that Condorcet is referring to some work he may have undertaken in connection with the case of La Barre and D'Etallonde who had been condemned to death for blasphemy by the Parlement of Abbeville in 1766. He brought this matter to Voltaire's notice in 1774, and in a letter of November 23rd Voltaire asked him to take up the case. Condorcet did all he could to obtain a decree of rehabilitation but was unsuccessful.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoier, Monsieur, la liste que vous m'avez demandée; elle est faite d'après l'édition 4° qui est très complette. Celle in douze

ne l'est pas, et il y a pour l'in octavo un volume de tables. Je vous remercie de m'avoir procuré le double plaisir de compiler et de compiler pour vous. Vous savez que M. de Voltaire demande une reforme depuis bien longtemps, et j'ose croire qu'il a raison. Nos loix semblent toutes faites pour la comodité des juges plutot que pour la sureté des Citoyens, et elles sont plus propres à epouvanter les honêtes gens que les fripons. Je ne connais pas d'honête homme qui selon la rigueur des loix et la jurisprudence des arrets n'ait mérité d'être pendu une douzaine de fois. On se consolerait cependant d'avoir attendu si longtemps cette reforme nécessaire si elle faisait à présent et par vous. C'est là le veu de tous ceux qui pensent et qui aiment le bien public.

Recevez, Monsieur, et très illustre confrere, l'assurance de mon respect et de mon devoument. le M. de Condorcet.

XLIX

GOETHE

Goethe went to Weimar in 1775. He became successively responsible for the recruitment of the army, the administration of the mines and the organisation of the finances, and by the year 1786, when he made his visit to Italy, there was scarcely any department of the State over which he had not at least some control. At the time when this letter was written the designing and laying out of landscape gardens was a hobby upon which he was particularly engaged. The letter is addressed to Oeser at Leipsig, his old teacher of painting. In it he returns to the question of a fountain, doubtless to be erected in the *Palais-garten*, about which he had already written to him on January 30th. In this first letter he says that "great stones" have been prepared and that he is now only waiting for Oeser's arrival. He begs him to send the Sketch (*Zeichnung*) and to come to Weimar as quickly as possible.

On April 7th Goethe returns to the charge. He once more begs Oeser to lay everything aside and to come to Weimar, as the Duke is most anxious to see him. At last, on July 17th, Oeser paid Goethe his long deferred visit, but whether the fountain was ever put up it is impossible to say. The authorities of the Goethe Museum at Weimar can throw no light upon the matter. [For Goethe's relations with Oeser, see A. Dürr *Adam Fr. Oeser* (1879).]

Hier überschicke ich, werthester Herr Professor abermal etwas, was ich leyder zu lange schuldig geblieben. Sie sehen wenigstens heraus den guten Willen, nach und nach meine Gläubigen zu befriedigen. Durchl. der Herzog wartet sehnlich auf die versprochene Zeichnung des Brunnens. Schon sind Steine und Erdschollen in einer Gegend lange

lebendig; rechnen Sie ja darauf auf das erste Frühjahr hierher zu kommen, denn man vertraut nun niemand mehr die Titanischen Unternehmungen als Ihnen. Leben Sie recht wohl und gedenken meiner im besten. Braune Farbe ist genug gekocht, leyder muss der Pinsel ruhen, und das friedliche geschätzte Rähmschen zu machen wird auch hintan gesetzt. Der akademische Feldzug des Herzogs von Würtemberg hat uns auch einige Tage in Bewegung gebracht.

Weimar den 17 Febr. 1783

[Translation]

Once more, dear Professor, I am sending you something that I have too long been owing you. It will be at least an earnest of my good intentions, to pay my creditors by instalments.

His Serene Highness the Duke is eagerly awaiting the promised design for the fountain. Boulders and turned up earth have long been lying ready.

You must make your plans to come here at the very beginning of Spring, for the Titanic undertaking will be entrusted to none but you.

May all go well with you; keep me in your best remembrance.

I have plenty of brown colour prepared, but, also, the brush must remain idle, and even the making of the simple [lit. peaceful] but valued little frame must be put off for the present.

The academic campaign of the Duke of Wurtemberg has kept us, too, all agog for several days.

Weimar 17th Feb. 1783

L

HERDER

Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) started life as a medical student at Königsberg, but finding the dissecting room too much for him, transferred to the theological faculty of the University and became a minister. In 1776 he obtained, through the good offices of Goethe, the post of court preacher at Weimar, where he lived for the rest of his life. In spite of persistent ill-health, he wrote continuously—on art, poetry, the science of language, comparative religion and the philosophy of history. He became a leader of the *Sturm und Drang* movement, with its break from classicism and its return to simpler and more spontaneous forms, inspired by a strong patriotic sentiment combined with an impatience of all accepted conventions, whether they derived from ancient Greece or from eighteenth century France. He was a pioneer of the golden age of German literature, and there was scarcely any branch of contemporary thought which his writings, with their great range and fertility of suggestion, did not influence.

Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, to whom this letter is addressed, was Secretary to the Cathedral Chapter of Halberstadt, and for his kindness to the younger literary men of his day was known as "Father Gleim". His principal work was his *Preussische Kriegslieden in den Feldzügen 1755 und 1757 von einem Grenadier* [1758], a collection of military songs to which Lessing contributed a preface.

Hier, liebster Gleim, eine Wiederkommende, die Ihnen so lieb als uns seyn wird, die sehr lieb Frau v. Veil. Sie nimmt einen Umweg zu Ihnen, um Sie wieder zu sehen; wie Vieles, Vieles werden Sie mit einander zu spreche haben.

Merkel kam still entzückt u. höchst dankbar erfreut von Ihnen—was mir hoch erfreulich ist, ist ihre Munterkeit und Gesundheit.

So werden wir denn, wills Gott, unseren Hoffnungen gemäss, uns wiedersehen und wieder besehen. Faxit numen,

Tausend Grüsse von u. an unsere Familien, die nur Euer sind. Vale care, plurimum amate, vale.

HERDER

25, Jan. '97

[Translation]

Someone has returned here, my dear Gleim, whom you will be as glad to see as we are—the charming Frau von Weil. She intends making a detour in order to see you again—what quantities of things you will have to talk about!

Merkel came back from his visit to you greatly delighted, full of a quiet enthusiasm and deep gratitude. I was especially glad to hear of your good health and good spirits.

God willing, our hopes will yet be fulfilled and we shall see each other again and once more take stock of one another.

Faxit numen!

A thousand greetings from my family to yours—and indeed, mine count themselves yours too.

Vale care, plurimum amate, vale.

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